# AN Hiſtorical Account OF THE DIVISIONS IN *POLAND*:

From the DEATH of

## K. *JOHN SOBIESKI*,

To the Settlement of the Preſent KING on the THRONE.

CONTAINING

A Particular Relation of the Late KING's Death, and of all the Intrigues of the ſeveral Candidates, till the Coronation of the Elector of *Saxony*. Tranſlated from the *French* Original.

Written by *M. de la Biazdiere*.

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# TO THE READER.

THis Work is a Continuation of the History of the Diets of Poland, that was Publish'd in 1697.

The Poles engaged the Author to write this Second Relation, and sent him according to Promise, all Necessary Instructions. The Sincerity that appears in their Memoirs is such as an Historian would wish for, to enable him to give an Account of a Transaction, of which all the Circumstances are almost unknown to the Publick.

Poland may be look'd upon as the most famous Theatre of Europe for Variety of Scenes. Persons of the most refin'd Wits were the Actors in this Affair; and whilst the Princes of Christendom were at War every where else, it would seem they reserv'd Poland for a place of Intrigue.

The Polish Nobility being as Zealous for their Religion as Jealous of their Liberty, had not hitherto suffer'd any thing to escape them that Humane Prudence could suggest, for maintaining themselves in the Possession of their Right, which they had enjoy'd Time out of Mind, to chuse their Sovereign: They had pre-

*ſerv'd this Right, whilſt other Nations had loſt it. This Valorous Nation had alſo ſignaliz'd themſelves by their Courage, and won almoſt as many Battles as they had Fought. In ſhort, the* Poles *ſeem'd to have ſurpaſſed the Generoſity of the Ancient* Romans, *in the moſt innocent State of their Republick, becauſe the Latter made War meerly to extend the Limits of their Empires, and the Former had often neglected or deſpis'd the Fruits of their Victory, like thoſe firſt Conquerors of whom 'twas ſaid,* Contenti Victoriâ, Imperio Abſtinebant.

*The* Poles *had a way of making Conqueſts peculiar to themſelves. The Mildneſs of their Government made other People wiſh to be partakers of the ſame Laws. The famous* Jagellon *having embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion, by that Means became K. of* Poland, *to which he reunited* Lithuania, *whereof he was Apoſtle as well as Sovereign.*

*His Poſterity govern'd that State till the Death of* Sigiſmund Auguſtus, *who dyed at the Caſtle of* Knichin *in* Lithuania, *in* 1572. *It was in the Perſon of that Prince, that this Illuſtrious Family was extinguiſh'd.*

Henry de Valois *who ſucceeded him the next Year, Reigned too ſhort a while in* Poland *to be regretted there.*

Stephen Battori, *who mounted the Throne next, comforted the* Poles *for all the Loſſes they had Suſtained, but by a new Misfortune greater than thoſe that had gone before that Prince, left no Children, and by his Death deprived*

*priv'd* Poland *of the Hopes of finding a Succeſſor equal to himſelf.*

*The Eldeſt Branch of* Vaſa *did by the Election of* Sigiſmund III, *Quit the Throne of* Sweden *to mount that of* Poland, *and the Alliance of theſe two Great Monarchies became a Subject of War, which made the* Poles *loſe the Conqueſts they had made in the preceding Reign.*

Uladiſlaus *Son to* Sigiſmund, *gave his Subjects cauſe to hope that he might repair thoſe Diſgraces by his Valour and Conduct, but the Misfortune with which they were over-whelm'd after his Death, by the Revolt of the Coſacks, and the War with* Sweden, *depriv'd the* Poles *of all hopes of Remedy for their incurable Maladies.*

*The Mighty Courage of K.* Caſimir, *gave his Subjects time to come to themſelves a little. Hereby that Prince found a Way to allay that Diſtemper that he could not perfectly Cure, but by his Abdication he involv'd the Kingdom in New Misfortunes.*

*K.* Michael *who ſucceeded him, loſt* Caminiec *and* Podolia: *It was then the* Poles *began to fear the Loſs of their Kingdom, but Providence not deſigning its Ruine, did by the Death of that Prince deliver the* Poles *and all* Europe *from a danger which they had ſo much cauſe to Apprehend.*

*The Defeat of the* Turks *at* Choczin *and the Election of* John Sobieski, *rais'd the Courage of the* Poles, *who believ'd that under the*

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*Conduct of ſo Great a Prince they could not be Unfortunate. Their Thoughts were Juſt. That Prince ſav'd* Vienna *and the* Empire, *and by that Great Action made his Subjects look upon all that he had done for them as nothing.*

*His Inſenſibility of their Condition join'd with one Miſtake, was the Cauſe or Pretext at leaſt that they made uſe of, to deprive his Poſterity of the Crown, which the Cuſtom of the Nation ſeem'd to have aſſur'd them of; but that Cuſtom was aboliſh'd, and after his Death his Family was Excluded. Their Reſentments have carryed them further. The Averſion they entertain'd for the Memory of that Prince made them renounce their own Intereſts, and the Blindneſs of that Nation became ſo exceſſively Great, that they could not ſee their own Ruine before them, tho' they had carefully avoided the ſame ever ſince the Foundation of their Monarchy.*

*The Hatred they always entertain'd, for the* Germans, *made them in* 1386, *prefer* Jagellon *D. of* Lithuania, *to* William *D. of* Auſtria. Sigiſmund *Marquis of* Brandenburg *was excluded from the Succeſſion at the ſame time, and on the ſame Account. The other* German *Princes that offer'd themſelves to the* Poles *ſince the Death of* Sigiſmund Auguſtus, *had no better Succeſs. And if* Erneſt, *the two* Maximilians *of* Auſtria, *and ſo many other* German *Princes had not been excluded, it might have been ſaid that the* Poles *lov'd their Money, as much as they hated their Perſons.*

So

*So many and ſuch repeated Denials did not baulk the* Germans, *they always preſented themſelves as Candidates when ever an* Interregnum *happen'd, and* Poland *which in* 1621 *was not in the leaſt afraid of an Army of* 200000 *Turks, was daunted in* 1697, *by* 12000 Saxons. *This is a Myſtery that is not eaſie to be unfolded. The* Poliſh *Memoirs which afforded us the Subject Matter of what follows will illuſtrate abundance of things. The Reader may blame the Conduct of that Nation, and at the ſame time commend their Sincerity.*

*The Affairs of this Kingdom are at preſent in a deplorable State. But the* Poles *have Piety and Courage. They may perhaps put on Reſolutions agreeable to their Genius. They came formerly to ſeek one of their Kings in the Abby of* Cluny, *whither he had retired; they may find this at the Court of* France, *if the Peace continue long enough to prevent his being employd, in commanding the Armies of that Crown.*

*ADVER-*

# *ADVERTISEMENT.*

IT was thought fit for to publiſh this part of the Secret Hiſtory of *Poland* firſt: There is in the Preſs, and will ſpeedily follow the Secret Memoirs of *Poland*, &c. during the Reign of *John Sobieski* III. which will compleat the Secret Hiſtory of *Poland* from the beginning of that Prince's Reign, to the Time that the Elector of *Saxony* their preſent Sovereign mounted the Throne. It contains abundance of Original Letters, writ by the Emperor, K. of *Poland*, Senate of *Venice*, D. of *Lorrain*, Count *Teckley*, and other Great Perſons and Generals, during the Campaign of *Vienna*; diſcovers many Intrigues of thoſe Courts, and others not hitherto made publick, and contains Geographical Remarks on *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, &c. no leſs pleaſant than profitable to the Reader.

AN

# AN Hiſtorical Account OF THE DIVISIONS IN POLAND,

From the Death of

King *JOHN SOBIESKI*,

To the Settlement of the

Preſent King on the Throne, &c.

THE Death of any Prince is always attended with a Change in the State. That of his Poliſh Majeſty made but little Impreſſion on the Republick; they forgot his Merit, which they ſuppoſed to have received a ſufficient Reward; and his Subjects, who ought to have been affected with the Loſs of their Sovereign, to applaud his

Piety, and to eſteem his Valor, had their Eyes fixed on one ſingle Fault, which had tarniſhed his other excellent Qualifications. They excuſed it in the Perſon of *Sobieski*, Grand Marſhal and Great General of the Crown, but could not pardon it in *John* III. King of *Poland*.

It was his Opinion, That, in order to enſure the Crown to his Family, it was requiſite to make himſelf Maſter of large Treaſures which being diſtributed juſt at the time of Election, might gain his Son thoſe Votes which he had acquired by his great Actions. Had he been as good a Politician as he was a Commander, he would have followed another ſort of a Conduct; he would have left leſs Money and more Friends to his Family; who are more uſeful for the carrying on of great Deſigns.

The States of *Poland*, which after the Defeat of the *Turks* at *Choczin*, had ſeen their General make his Appearance at the Diet of Election with a Magnificence worthy of a King, thought fit to reward the Vertue of a Gentleman who ſeemed to have been born to wear a Crown. They granted to his Merit what they refuſed to the Birth, Promiſes and Intrigues of ſo many Princes who were his Competitors. He had the Glory of carrying the Day from them all, and dyed in Hopes that the Prince Royal his Son would have been Heir to his Fortune. He imagined, that he had taken all the Precautions, that

that Humane Prudence could direct, without conſidering, that this has often failed thoſe who thought themſelves to be the wiſeſt of Men, and that 'tis *Divine Providence*, which diſpoſes of the Crowns, as it thinks fit.

After the King had taken ſuch Meaſures, which were as falſe as he eſteemed them ſafe; he left the Execution of them to the Queen his Conſort, a Princeſs of a Genius far above thoſe of her Sex, and yet ſuch as had its Faults. She was for making more of the Poſt ſhe was in, than the King deſired, and had the Satisfaction for two and twenty Years together to ſee her Deſigns ſucceed, which have ſince raiſed ſuch Regrets in her, as will laſt while ſhe lives.

Her firſt Project was to preſerve the King's Health, and to prolong a Life, that was ſo precious to her. A *Jew* of *Caſal* named *Jonas* was then in *Poland*, and paſſed for a Learned Man among thoſe of his Religion, and had neglected Trade and Uſury, which are ſo alluring to the Men of that Sect, that he might wholly apply himſelf to the Study of Phyſic. The Queen made this Man his Majeſty's Phyſician in Ordinary, whoſe Reputation was eſtabliſhed and ſoon after increaſed, more perhaps by the good Conſtitution of the King, than by the Art or Skill of the Doctor.

The Succeſs of Dr. *Jonas* drew a great many *Jews* to him, in hopes of having a

ſhare in his Favour. Among the reſt he introduced one into the Queen's Acquaintance, who may be look'd upon as one of the Occaſions of the Misfortunes of her and her whole Family.

This Jew's Name was *Bethſal*, born in *Ruſſia*, and had no other Qualification but what the *Jews* are all endowed with; but underſtood his Talent ſo well, that even whilſt he practiſed Uſury with the utmoſt Rigor, he had the Addreſs of appearing Magnificent and Diſintereſted. This Man waited upon the Queen, whoſe blind ſide every one was acquainted with. He brought his Recommendation along with him, being reſolved to throw away a conſiderable Summ of Money, which he foreſaw he ſhould make up again in a little time. He propoſed to take the King's Lands by Leaſe, and offered one third for them above their real Value. His Propoſal was very well received, and they engaged him to take his Majeſty's other Demeans, which he accepted of upon the ſame Conditions.

The King ſeemed ſo well ſatisfied with his Conduct, that he began to beſtow ſeveral Favours at his Requeſt. They waited upon *Bethſal* to buy thoſe Offices that were vacant, and he who bad moſt was always look'd upon as beſt qualified. This buying and ſelling of Offices was not at firſt publickly known; thoſe who could not get into any, imagin'd that this *Jew* was the Oppoſer of their Fortunes,

tunes, and reſolved to aſſaſſinate him. But his Prudence prevented the Effects of the Publick Odium, he maintained thirty *Poles* for his Guard, and paid them ſo well, that he preſerved a Life againſt which, had not their Intereſt interpoſed, they would perhaps have been the firſt that would have made any Attempt.

*Bethſal* looked upon himſelf rather as a Miniſter of State, than a Farmer of the King's Revenue. All Offices, ſeveral Staroſtas and other Dignities, that roſe not ſo high as Palatins and other great Dignities of the Crown, were diſtributed to none but thoſe who made their Application to, and bargain with him. The *Poles* cryed ſhame on their Prince's Blindneſs, and the Author of this ſo vile a Miſmanagement. On the contrary, the *Jews* looked upon *Bethſal* as another *Mordecai*, and *Sobieski* a ſecond *Ahaſuerus*.

The K. of *Poland* could not be ignorant of the Artifice of this Man on whom he had too much relied. The *Poles* to this Day accuſe him of having heaped up ſo much Treaſure, by the Sale of Offices, and ſuch a Conduct ſo full of Self-Intereſt has made his Memory to ſtink among them. He had the Misfortune, during his Life, never to be acquainted with the odiouſneſs of this buying and ſelling of Places, and this Diſgrace happened to him by a Fate incident to Princes of having too many Flatterers, but no True Friends about them.

The *Poles*, whilſt the King was living, could not diſſemble their hatred to *Bethſal*; whom they accuſed of Extortion and Sacriledge. The firſt Crime was eaſie to prove; He was convicted of the ſecond by all thoſe who had entred Foreign Merchandiſes into the Kingdom. This Jew who had farmed the Cuſtoms cauſed the Merchants to appear before him, preſented a Crucifix to them, and after he had made them worſhip it, took an Oath of them that they had not been guilty of any Fraud: Afterwards he threw that precious Image into the naſtieſt Place of his Office; and by this Prophanation incenſed the reſt of *Poland* againſt him. The Diet which met at *Grodno* in the Year 1692. were for taking away his Life. The Biſhops thought nothing but Fire could expiate his Crimes; moſt of the Lords meditated another ſort of Death, and all they diſagreed about was the manner of his Puniſhment. The King who ſits as Preſident, is not obliged to pronounce Sentence, according to the Plurality of Voices, but ſuch an Action would have been reſented in ſuch a Juncture as this. The Prince therefore without making uſe of his Authority, was for making up the buſineſs calmly, and declar'd that the Evidence did not appear ſufficient. Thus the Affair ſtood undetermin'd, the Accuſed loſt his Credit, but his Maſter ſav'd his Life. This Indulgence was attributed to another Motive than that of Clemency. *Bethſal* had manag'd his Affairs

Affairs ſo ill, that he ſtood indebted to the King for above 400000 Livres. It was thought the King would give him time to pay it off, but the Jew dy'd inſolvable in 1695. and the King ſurviv'd him but one year. The *Poles*, who ſaw that the Death of the Prince and his Farmer rendred their Complaints and Revenge uſeleſs, turned all their Reſentments for the future againſt the Queen and her Family.

In this Condition was the Royal Family, and the Kingdom it ſelf was in as bad a State. The Turks had taken *Caminiec*, under the former Reign; *Sobieski* was obliged by his *Pacta Conventa* to make amends for this Loſs as well as for others, which *Poland* had ſuffered for a Century laſt paſt, and which had ſo far leſſened its force, that every Body wiſhed for that happy turn, without expecting it. The new King ſeemed to have altered his Inclination by the Change of his Circumſtances: The Turks remained in quiet Poſſeſſion of *Podolia*, and he never put himſelf into a Poſture of diſpoſſeſſing them. This Coldneſs in the King leſſened his Reputation, and it was thought that the Acquiring of a Crown had taken off the edge of his Courage. The Importunities of *Innocent* XI. and thoſe Intrigues that all the World know, reanimated this Prince, and rouſed up his former Vigor. The Authority of the Pope prevailed upon him to relieve *Vienna*, and at his Inſtances he ſav'd the Capital City of the Em-

pire, and at the ſame time retrieved his former Reputation.

*Poland* was then in Hopes that its King would undertake as much for that Republick, as he had done for a Neighbour Prince; and this Action had enhaunced the Eſteem which they formerly had of his Valour and Conduct. The Campagnes he made in *Budziac*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, wherein he took *Jaſſii*, *Campo-longo*, *Soczawa*, *Niemiek* and *Soroka*, together with the Relief of *Vienna* upheld his Reputation. But the Diſtempers with which he was troubled the three laſt Years of his Reign hindred him from purſuing his Conqueſts. The Turks and Tartars took care to keep fair with him; and though they deſired Peace, which would not be granted them, yet they made no conſiderable Attempt againſt *Poland*; looking upon the King as in a deep Lethargy, out of which they thought it not adviſable to rouſe him.

They looked upon him as a Lion, of which other Animals are afraid, even whilſt he ſleeps. The Terror with which he had ſtruck them was not taken off but by his Death, which happened after two Fits of an Apoplexy, *June* 17. 1699. at *Villa Nova*, near *Warſaw*.

It is hard to ſay whether the News of his Death was more pleaſing to his Enemies, than indifferent to his Subjects. The former raiſed ſeveral Commotions in the Kingdom

Kingdom capable of making it too ſenſible of the Loſs of their Prince; and the latter teſtified ſo much Averſion to his Memory and Family, that in ſeveral Parts of *Poland* they reſolved to ſeize upon the Eſtate he had left. It was feared that thoſe Reſentments proceeding from the Hopes of a conſiderable gain, would have had dangerous conſequences. *Potoski* Grand Huntſman of the Crown went to *Zolkiew* to take poſſeſſion in the Name of Prince *James* of the Treaſures which the King had left in that place. But foraſmuch as this Officer's Intention was not known, and it was uncertain whether he deſign'd to advance his own Intereſt, or that of the Royal Family, the Great General clapt his Seal upon it, and two hundred Men as a Garriſon. This diſappointed thoſe who would have taken an Advantage of the publick Diſturbances, they had reſolved to ſeize upon the King's Treaſures, but thoſe precautions prevented them. But becauſe they could not gratifie their Avarice, they were enrag'd and would have proſecuted their Rage, if the Dignity of the Perſon to whom they applyed themſelves, had not put Bounds to their Paſſion.

The Queen and the three Princes went to *Zolkiew* to divide the King's Eſtate among them. The Cardinal *d'Arquien* the Queen's Father, who was going thither, was not above three Leagues off the Place, when ſeveral Gentlemen of the Country, through which

which he paſſed, fell foul upon his Retinue, who put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence, and after they had killed and wounded ſome of them, put the reſt to flight. The Oppoſition which the Aggreſſors met with raiſed their Spleen, and to be revenged for the Blood of their Comrades, they called together the Inhabitants of their Neighbourhood to the Number of three hundred. But as ſoon as they were ſenſible of the Quality of the Perſon for whom the others had ſo little Reſpect, they ſoon drew off. The Cardinal, who had other Cares upon him than to demand Satisfaction for his Aſſault, did not think it proper to complain of the Affront, which he judged to be ſufficiently made up, and the Criminals were only concerned to heal their Wounds.

This Inſult was a ſufficient Demonſtration of the ill Will that the *Poles* bore to the Royal Family, which met with ſo many Affronts afterwards, that they quite forgot all the former Injuries.

Cardinal *Michael Radzièiowski*; Arch Biſhop of *Gneſna*, and Primate of *Poland*, was abſent when the King died. He came to *Warſaw*, took upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government; and in the Senate it was reſolved to call a Diet on the twenty eighth Day of *Auguſt*, which Diet was to precede that of the Election.

During this *Inter-regnum* the Preliminary Diets were convened, in which nothing was deter-

determined. All their Heats were about the Succeſſion of the King, and becauſe the *Pacta Conventa* were not executed, moſt of 'em were for having the Queen, the Princes, the Foreign Miniſters; and particularly the French Ambaſſador, who had too great a Correſpondence with her Poliſh Majeſty, to withdraw: That the Election of the King ſhould be made by an univerſal Convocation of the Nobles, which is what the *Poles* call *Poſtpolite*, and that a *Piaſto* ſhould be excluded. The others, though few in Number, were for leaving the Queen at her Liberty. Every one for maintaining his Sentiments, few Reaſons were alledged, but many Sabres drawn in the Quarrel.

The Preliminary Diet was opened the 29th of *Auguſt*, and the Cardinal Primate ſaid Maſs. They had a great many Heats about the Choice of a Marſhal or Speaker, which were at laſt happily accommodated by the Election of *Humiecki Stolnik* of *Podolia*, one more conſiderable by his Merits, and the Intereſt of his Uncle, who was Palatin of *Kiowia*, than by his Dignity. This new Officer explained at firſt the Authority from which he derived his Commiſſion; he examined the Powers of the Deputies, and declared, that the Deputy of *Cracow* ought not to ſit in the Diet, ſince he had abuſed a Gentleman, who had prefered his Complaints againſt him. The whole Gentry were concerned in that rigorous Proceeding, and to teſtifie their Approbation of it, they drew

up

up an Order in Form of Law, That the Deputies againſt whom any Accuſations were brought, ſhould not have any active Vote in the Diet, till they had cleared themſelves. The Marſhal and the Deputies went afterwards to the Senators Chamber, to return them Thanks, for the Care they had taken of the Republick during the *Inter-regnum*. The Cardinal repreſented to them, that ſince they were all Members of the ſame Republick, it was their Common Intereſt to take all neceſſary Precautions for the Welfare of the Kingdom: That this conſiſted in providing for the due Regulation of the Coin, which was ſo far adulterated, that Trade was quite ruined by it: That the Armies ſhould be paid off, to put them in a Poſture of oppoſing the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who to be ſure would make their Advantages of this Juncture: That the moſt neceſſary Order for the preſent was to iſſue out Articles concerning the Election of a King, and to conſider how and when it ſhould be made; but above all they ſhould avoid the Abuſes which were introduced into the two former Elections: That the Election of King *Michael* was tumultuary; and that of the late K. carry'd on by Deputies; that the ſmallneſs of the number ſhould have produc'd *Tranquility* in the State; but on the contrary, that the Candidates by their large Bribes (a Shame to any Nation!) had bought Votes: That it was for the Honour of *Poland* to avoid at this time ſo many Inconveniencies: That

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ſince their Buſineſs was to provide ſuch a Head for the Republick as might reſtore it to its former Splendor, their Duty obliged them to make Choice of him, who was the moſt worthy among the Competitors: That he conjured them to remember, that the Crown was given, and had never been ſold.

Whilſt the Cardinal was giving them theſe wholſom Counſels, News was brought, that the *Tartars* had made an Incurſion into the Parts about *Zolkiew*; that after they had carried off a great many Slaves and Heads of Cattle, they had ſet Fire to the Corn; and that the Harveſt was quite ſpoiled. Upon the Neck of this came another Piece of News of more dangerous Conſequence than the former, ſince it put the Republick out of a Condition of revenging thoſe Acts of Hoſtility, committed by thoſe Infidels.

The Army of the Crown was in Confederacy, under a Pretence, that for ſeveral Years laſt paſt they had received no pay. If this had been the only Reaſon, the Diet would have uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to have ſatisfied the Army, and the Breach would not have been remedileſs. It was perceived that they had other Motives, the difficulty was to penetrate a Myſtery, which the Power of the Authors of it kept from being ſearched to the Bottom.

*Boguſlas Baronowski* had been elected Chief or Marſhal of this *Confederacy*, which a Kingdom leſs indulgent than that of *Poland* would call a *Revolt*. He is of the Diſtrict of

of *Czersk* in the Palatinat of *Mazovia*, betwixt thirty and forty Years old. An Arch-Biſhop of *Gneſna* of the ſame Name, had rendred his Family illuſtrious: His Nobility made him conſiderable, and ſtood him inſtead of Wealth and Merit; his Boldneſs and the Talent he had of ſpeaking in Publick, made him looked upon as a proper Inſtrument for carrying on the Ambition of thoſe who employed him. They found in him all thoſe Qualities, that they could wiſh in a Man, whom they would chuſe for the promoting of a raſh Enterprize. That Avarice which he had for Riches render'd him inſenſible, and kept him from foreſeeing the Diſaſters which might afterwards happen to him. He conſidered Poverty as the greateſt of Evils; and thought it more eligible to run the riſque of a ſhameful Death, than to lead a Life of Miſery.

He was a *Huſſar* belonging to the Company of *Lancers*, commanded by Prince *Joſeph Lubormiski*, the Under Marſhal of the Crown. That ſmall Eſtate which his Father left him was almoſt ſpent the very firſt Campagne. A Woman whom he had married, more out of Neceſſity than Inclination, help'd to keep him in his Employment, and to continue in the Service: The Portion ſhe had brought him was ſoon ſquandred away, thro' Miſmanagement, which is a common Thing among Men of the Sword, and *Baranowski* was

was without Supplies, when the Army demanded their Pay. He was the loudeſt of any, and declared, that it was a ſhame to ſuffer ſo many brave Souls to periſh; that ſince the Republick ſet ſo ſlight a Price upon their Lives, which they had hazarded ſo often in its Service, they ought to take Care of themſelves, and what they ſhould hereafter do, would juſtifie their Conduct: That it was no hard Matter to get themſelves paid; That the *Turks* and *Tartars* had carried off ſo great a Booty, a Part of which would have been enough to have cleared the Debts of the Government; that they ought to have ſeized upon it at firſt, which would have preſerved the Eſtates of the Publick, by employing them in the Diſcharge of its Debts; and that by this means they might have prevented the Enemy from being the better by it.

Among Mutineers the moſt inſolent always paſs for the ableſt Men. *Baranowski* had no ſooner ended his fine Speech, but they unanimouſly choſe him for their Leader, and each of them engaged to obey his Orders. The firſt thing he did was to raiſe Contributions, and ſent Deputies to the Diet, to demand what was due to the Army. They were admitted to Audience, and ſpake ſo inſolently that they ſeemed to be rather Heraulds, who denounced War, than Subjects who preferr'd their Remonſtrances.

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This inſolent Behaviour made them believe that *Baranowski* was ſupported under-hand, the Suſpicion fell upon thoſe, who might be ſuppoſed to take an Advantage of the Revolt. The Law of Nations would not allow 'em to diſmiſs the Miniſters of Foreign Princes. By the Law the Candidates and their Relations ought to be abſent during the Sitting of the Diet. The three Princes of the Blood were withdrawn; but the Queen kept ſtill at *Warſaw*, where her Preſence was neither neceſſary nor approved of. The Cardinal had repreſented to her the Wrong ſhe did her Family by ſtaying, but ſhe would not hearken to any of his Arguments. On the 10th of *September* that Matter came under Debate. The Marſhal of the Diet made a Speech in the Senate, and ſpoke by an *innuendo* againſt the Intereſts of that Princeſs, with ſo much warmth, that the Cardinal who had too openly declared himſelf in her Favour, thought himſelf obliged to interrupt him. This ſeemed ſo much the greater an Affront to the Marſhal, becauſe the Law forbids ſuch Interruptions. He had ſaid, that they ought, *Mediam tenere viam inter præfractam contumaciam & deforme obſequium.* The Primat had deſired him to explain what he meant by thoſe Words, and *Hamiecki* asked him the reaſon of the Affront which in his Perſon he had offered to the whole Body of Gentry. The Deputies took his Part, and being of the Mind, that the

Queen

Queen ſhould withdraw during the Sitting of the Diet, they moſt of 'em went out, and were follow'd by the greateſt part of the Senators. Their pretence was, that the Arch-Biſhop had abus'd the Mareſchal. They were very glad of giving him this Mortification, purely becauſe they thought him too much wedded to the Queen's Intereſt, and the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, out of Envy to the Primate fomented the Diviſion, that ſo he might ſit as Preſident in the Diets.

This Difference laſted four days, but was adjuſted by the Prudence of the Biſhops, who offer'd themſelves as Mediators. The Deputies met again on the nineteenth. Several Biſhops and Senators waited upon them at their Chamber, where the Biſhop of *Cujavia* declared, that the Queen, in compliance with the repeated Inſtances of the Primate, Biſhops, and himſelf, and to remove all occaſion of complaint, had reſolv'd to retire. She kept her word, and the ſame day, ſet out for *Bialana* near *Warſaw*, after ſhe had received the ſad News from *Leopold*, that the Confederate Army had committed great Outrages upon her Lands, and upon thoſe that belong'd to the late King, that it had exacted very large Contributions from the Inhabitants, and even threatned to ſeize upon the whole, if they were not ſpeedily ſatisfied. They committed the ſame Diſorders on the States of the Clergy and Gentry. The Misfortune was

Universal, and every Day they expected fresh News of more Disasters.

The *Turks* and *Tartars*, by their Preparations, continually alarmed them, and the *Muscovite*, who used to make an Advantage of the Misfortunes of his Neighbours, seemed to be willing to break with the Crown. His Resident had some Days before presented a Letter to the Senate, wherein the Czar his Master demanded of the Republick, that the King they chose should maintain the Treaties concluded with *Muscovy*, and should no longer take upon him the Titles of the Provinces of *Smolensko*, *Kiovia* and *Czernichovia*, which he pretended had been granted to him in the last Treaty of *Leopold*. They were neither surpized nor daunted at this Demand, for they all knew that the *Muscovites* are as insolent in Prosperity, as they are abject in Adversity.

Besides the Czar had too much Business upon his Hands with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, against whom he had declared War, for no other Reason, but because he saw them attack'd by the *Empire*, *Poland* and the Republick of *Venice*, against whom those Infidels had made but a weak Defence, ever since the Confederacy which these three great States had concluded betwixt themselves.

The Czar *John* died in *Jan.* 1696. not at all lamented by his Subjects, who had so great a Contempt for him, that contrary to the

the Cuſtom of the Nation, they obliged him to make his younger Brother Collegue in the Throne.

The Czar *Peter* inveſted with the Authority which he had unjuſtly uſurped from his eldeſt Brother, was willing to let his Subjects ſee that he was not unworthy of the Favours they had beſtowed upon him. He laid Siege to the City of *Aſoph* a ſecond time, and was more ſucceſsful in it than the firſt. This Place was ſurrendred to him on the 28th of *July*, and had obtained as honourable Conditions as they could have hoped for, from a Nation that makes uſe of the very leaſt Advantages. The Garriſon went out on the 29th, being 3000 *Turks*, with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, and were tranſported ten Leagues by the Czar's Gallies. The *Muſcovites* had loſt at this Siege the very beſt of their Troops, and two or three ſuch Victories more would undoubtedly ruine their Empire.

The *Poles* were well ſatisfied, that the Haughtineſs of the *Muſcovite* was not ſo much raiſed by the taking of *Aſoph*, as by the vain Promiſes which the *Germans* had made him of cauſing a powerful Diverſion, and of putting the Czar into a Capacity of conquering *Tartary*, whilſt the Imperialiſts drove the *Turks* out of *Europe*. The *Muſcovites* thought it a noble Project, whilſt the *Poles*, who knew the State of the Affairs of *Germany*, looked upon it as Impracticable; ſo that they returned Anſwer to the Czar's

Resident, That the King, who should be chose, should advise with the Republick, whether it was proper for the Welfare of the State, to give him Satisfaction as to his Demands, or to retake by force the Provinces, which his Master had unjustly usurped.

The Proposal of the *Muscovite* did not so much alarm the *Poles*, as the Confederate Army did, whose Deputies demanded Pay for ten Years past, and threatned Military Execution, if the Republick did not give them speedy Satisfaction: It was hard for the Diet to get out of these Troubles, they were all for paying off the Army, tho' none of them were for contributing the least Penny toward it. The Publick Treasure was exhausted, by the Mismanagement of those who had the Care of the Finances. Several Persons disaffected to the late Government, were, on this urgent Occasion, for making use of the Money which the late King had heaped up. They remonstrated, that since those vast Riches were gotten out of the State, it was but just to apply them to its present Necessities, and to the Discharge of its Debts.

The Queen and the Princes of the Blood had still some Friends left, who opposed this Design, and even when the Interest of the Royal Family was sinking, *Horodenski*, Deputy of the Palatinate of *Czerniechovia*, left the Diet about the end of *September*, after

he

he had proteſted againſt all that ſhould be reſolved upon in his Abſence. Such a Proteſtation as this is enough in *Poland* to break up a Diet. The Republick could not conquer the ſtubbornneſs of the Deputy: Whereupon, according to Cuſtom in the like Caſe, they made a General Confederacy, whereby it was ordered, That the Diet of Election ſhould be in the open Field, by the Convention of all the Gentry, and it was further added, That thoſe who ſhould propoſe a *Piaſto* or a *Pole* by Birth, ſhould be looked upon as Enemies to their Country. But, to the great Surprize of the Royal Family, whoſe Intereſt it was, that the Diet ſhould be held before Winter, that ſo all Foreign Competitors might be prevented, the opening of it was fixed for the 15th of *May*, in the Year next enſuing, which was attributed to the Intrigues of ſome private Faction.

*Horodenski* after having broke the Diet, made his Eſcape, for ſuppoſing that he ſhould be chaſtiſed if he ſtaid, he ſought out for a Sanctuary, and fled for Protection to *Baranowski*. He propoſed to that General the truſting him with a Detatchment of 6000 Men to go into *Lithuania*; and aſſured him, That with this Force he would oblige the Gentry to enter into a Confederacy, to which they were already pretty much inclined. *Baranowski* had attempted as much before, but without Succeſs; he thought another would not

not be more ſucceſsful and dextrous in it; and the Revolt of the Army was too Advantagious to him, to think of ſharing the profit of it with others.

He looked upon *Horodenski* rather as a Refugeé, whom he honoured with his protection, than as a Man capable of aſſiſting him in the carrying on of his Deſigns. He bore with him, becauſe he had broken up the Diet, and hazarded his Life for their Intereſts, by whoſe Miniſtry it was that he was at Head of the Confederate Army. Before the Deputy came, *Baronowski* had ſolicited *Lithuania* to join his Troops, and they anſwered him, That if they had any ſuch Deſign, they would make Choice of a General, who was more skilful and better experienced than him. Accordingly the Gentry did enter into a Confederacy, and the News of it was brought to *Warſaw*, a little after the breaking up of the Diet. The pretence they made for this Confederacy was very ſpecious, tho' it was not more juſt than that which the Confederates of *Poland* had made uſe of.

The Family of *Sapieha* was become the moſt powerful of any in *Lithuania*; it enjoyed the largeſt Eſtates and the higheſt Dignities of that Dutchy. The Fortune of this Family had raiſed a Jealouſie in the Mind of the late King, who, to humble its Greatneſs, had

had raiſed the Family of the *Krziezpins*, originally of *Konigsberg*, to ſo high a pitch, that they could hardly tell how to pretend to it. He had made One *Palatine* of *Witeps*, and his Brother obtained the Biſhoprick of *Samogitia*. Theſe 2 Senators after their Benefactor's death, did not forget the Obligations he had laid upon them; they not only maintained the Intereſts of his Family, but alſo engaged their Friends to do the like, and at the Queen's deſire they hazarded their Eſtates and Lives to make the Army enter into a Confederacy, as ſoon as they ſaw that the Family, whom they were deſired to oppoſe, had openly declared againſt that Princeſs and her Family.

*John Caſimir Sapieha* Palatin of *Vilna*, and Great General of the Dutchy, had much ado for ſeveral Years laſt paſt to get Subſiſtence for the Army, which he commanded. The Treaſure of that Province was exhauſted, as well as that of the Crown, and 'tis impoſſible for a General to keep his Troops under Diſcipline, when they want their Pay. The Neceſſity this Officer lay under, obliged him to quarter his Army upon the Lands of the Eccleſiaſticks and Gentry. Both thoſe looked upon this Proceeding as a Breach of the Publick Liberty, and what ſhould have been attributed to the Misfortunes of the Time, was imputed to the General's Reſentment, whom no Body had in the leaſt offended;

and though it was told them, that the Army muſt periſh, if a Method of Subſiſtence was not found out for them, yet each of them looked upon himſelf as one that ſuffered a Grievance, and none had any Regard to the Publick Good. By this means the Diſorder increaſed every Day, by the Inſolence of the Soldiery, and the Impatience of thoſe who were expoſed to their Rapines. They who had the moſt to loſe, were more offended than others with the General, whom they made the Author of a Misfortune, which neither he, nor they could remedy.

The fiery Temper of the General increaſed their Indignation towards him. The Church and the Gentry of *Poland* are exempted from quartering of Soldiers. *Lithuania*, which is annexed to that Crown and governed by the ſame Laws, pretended to enjoy the ſame Priviledges. The Palatine of *Vilna* diſputed this laſt Head, and maintained that he might lawfully do what he had hitherto done out of pure Neceſſity. Thus by elevating the Authority of his Office, he ſeemed too much to depreciate the Immunity of Eccleſiaſticks, and the Priviledges of Gentlemen, who though of meaner Fortunes, were as haughty as the General.

*Conſtantine Brzoſtowski* Biſhop of *Vilna*, thought ſince he was the Chief Prelate and Senator of *Lithuania*, that he was bound in Duty and Honour to oppoſe the Ambition of the General, and the Licentiouſneſs of his

his Troops. He talked with, threatned, and when Words would do no good, he excommunicated the Palatin of *Vilna*. *Sancta-Cruz* the Nuncio had backed the Excommunication, and the Primat, a Friend of *Sapieha*'s Family, had ſuſpended it in quality of Primat and Legat of the Holy See. The General was ſo offended at thoſe Cenſures that were iſſued out againſt him, that he no longer kept within Bounds. He ſent Troops into all the Dependencies of the Biſhoprick of *Vilna*, he increaſed thoſe that had been quartered on the Lands of the Biſhop's Friends, and by this too great Severity he ſtrengthened his Enemy's Party, without thinking of it.

The Nuncio *Davia*, Succeſſor to *Sancta-Cruz*, offered his Mediation as Miniſter of his Holineſs, which was accepted by the Parties. But they were not ſo well agreed upon what he propoſed to them, and he had the Diſſatisfaction to ſee that the Committee of Priviledges, which was by the *Pope*'s Order met towards the latter end of the Year 1696. diſapproved of his project of Accommodation. The Biſhop of *Vilna* was at *Rome*, whilſt the Army ravaged the Dioceſs. His Friends took Care of his Intereſts and their own, which were inſeparable; and at laſt by the Influence of the Queen's and Prince *James*'s Money, prevailed upon the Army of *Lithuania* to enter into a Confederacy. The preſence was ſo much the more

more ſpecious, ſince the Authors of this Undertaking gave out, That they only took up Arms in Defence of the Church. The Palatin of *Vilna* was ſenſible at laſt, that it is dangerous to make uſe of all the Advantages which Authority gives us over our Enemies.

*George Oginski*, Great Enſign of the Dutchy, put himſelf at the Head of the Confederates, which as yet were not above 4000 Men. The quality of the Leader, the hatred they had conceived againſt the Palatin of *Vilna*, the Friends of the Queen, and thoſe of the Biſhop, who were no leſs conſiderable, quickly increaſed the Number. The Gentlemen of *Samogitia*, of the Palatinates of *Novogrod*, *Witeps*, and *Brzeſce* joined with the Male-contents. *Oginski*, to revenge the Publick, and to make himſelf popular, began with ravaging the Eſtates of the General, and of all thoſe that belonged to him. He who was moſt in *Sapieha*'s Intereſt became the Object of their Fury, who ſo warmly had ſet themſelves againſt that Family. The Palatin of *Vilna* could not endure to be treated as he had treated others; he call'd together as many Gentry as he could, with 2000 regular Troops, which had ſtill kept to their Duty. He was preparing to march againſt the Rebels, when he heard that two Companies of Hey-dukes of Prince *Radzivil*'s Regiment were coming to join him, and that *Oginski* was ſoliciting the *Coſſacks* to come over to his party. The Palatin of *Vilna* ſtayed

ſtayed at *Grodno* for the coming up of the new Supplies; his Friends repreſented to him, That it was dangerous to give the Enemy time to fortifie themſelves. A Council was called, wherein it was reſolved to force them in their Retrenchments, and the Event ſhewed that the moſt daring Advices are not always the wiſeſt.

Upon the General's Approach *Oginski* retired with his Army to *Brzeſca*, which *Sapieha* inveſted and ſhut up ſo cloſe, that it was hoped, that the want of Proviſions and the Amneſty which was propoſed, would make them return to their Duty. Both Threatnings and Promiſes ſignified nothing, it was neceſſary to make uſe of Force againſt thoſe who cannot be reduced by Reaſon. The Palatin of *Vilna* ſet upon them in *November*, and had at firſt all the Advantage which the valor of his Troops could promiſe him. The Confederates were giving Ground, when *Oginski* by his Example and Words reanimated them, and led them to fight with ſo much vigor, that after an Engagement that laſted above two Hours, they repulſed *Sapieha*. The Great Maſter of the Dutchy, his Eldeſt Son, commanded a Party in *Samogitia*, which at the ſame time were put to the Rout. That young Lord run a greater hazard than the reſt to ſave himſelf, and he was purſued ſo cloſly, that he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in one of his Caſtles, where the Gentry of *Samogitia* beſieged

him

him to no purpose, his Resolution having given his Friends time to come up to his Relief.

This Defeat increased the Great General's passion, he looked upon himself as conquer'd, because his Enemies had ventured to dispute the Victory with him. The Confederates for their parts did not esteem an Action advantagious to them, which had cost them so many Men. They retrenched themselves, and the Palatin marched a second time to force them; but they defended themselves with the same Bravery as at first. The loss on both sides was equal, the two Parties accused Fortune, and hearkened to Reason.

At the same time, some of the Great General's Scouts had taken a Courrier of the Palatin of *Wiepz*, who was carrying Letters to the Queen, by which he entreated her to send some fresh Supplies of Money, and it would be impossible to rescue *Oginski* out of the danger in which he then was. This Senator sent her word, that it had been better for her never to have undertaken this Business, than not to support it. These Letters were given to the General, who caused Copies to be taken of them, and to be sent to all the lesser Diets of the Kingdom, and so accused the Queen of being the occasion of the Rebellion in *Lithuania*. These Diets did what he desired, and this Accident was so fatal a stroak to the Queen's party, as they could never recover of.

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The French Ambassador made his Advantage of this Disorder, he foresaw that the Division of *Lithuania* was an obstacle to the designs which he kept secret. This Minister insinuated himself into the Under Marshal of *Lithuania*, the Great General's Son, and the intimate Friend of *Oginski*; he desired him to go upon the spot and mediate an Accommodation, promising to defray all the necessary Expences, upon Condition that one of the private Articles should be the Reunion of the two parties in favour of the Candidate which he should propose to them.

This young Lord and several others, whose Estates were endamaged by this unhappy Division, hearkned to the Proposals of the French Ambassador. The Heats on both sides abated, and each of them being more fatigued with the misery they endured, than pleased at the mischief they occasioned, consented to an Agreement, which was concluded *Nov.* 26. 1696. upon those Conditions, that *Oginski* and the Confederates should return to their Duty, that the Great General should grant them an *Amnesty*, that he would cause the Republic to pay the Moiety of what was due to them, and that the same Quarters of refreshment should be assign'd them, as were allow'd to the Army that kept in their duty. The next day, the Head of the Confederacy took the Oath of Fealty to the Great General, who return'd God thanks for a Peace, which it seems was not to last long.

*Krzis-*

*Krziſzpin* Biſhop of *Samogitia* was comprehended in the ſame Treaty. That Prelate, tho' a Man of an indifferent head, yet was too forward a Deſigner. He, as well as the Biſhop of *Vilna*, ſtood up ſtifly for the Immunity of his Church, and at the Provincial Diet held in the beginning of the Year 1696. had declaim'd ſo ſharply againſt thoſe who he ſaid had infring'd that Immunity, that his Speech (contrary to his Intentions) nettled a great many Gentlemen, who ſuſpecting that they ſhould be over-charg'd with Soldiers, in caſe the Church could get themſelves Eas'd of 'em, drew their Sabres, and would not have ſpared the Prelate himſelf, had he not been reliev'd. He was for excommunicating them, but the Example of the Biſhop of *Vilna*, and the Remonſtrances of his Friends, made him alter his Reſolution.

By the ſame Intrigue, and the ſelf-ſame day his Brother the Palatine of *Witepſk* was likewiſe reconcil'd with the Great General. This Man had ſided with the Confederates under a pretence of defending the Church and the Gentry, and in reality to ſatisfie the Intentions of the Late King, and the preſſing Solicitations of the Queen and her Family. The Palatine of *Vilna*, to be reveng'd of him, had order'd a Troop of Dragoons to go and lay waſte his Lands. *Krziſzpin* had ſent ſeveral of his Peaſants after them, who were ſo punctual in obeying their Maſter's commands, that they kill'd them all except their Leader, whoſe

whoſe Life they ſpar'd, that he might carry the News of what had happen'd. The Maſſacre of the Dragoons was ballanced againſt the diſturbance which they had caus'd, and ſo was no Lett to the Accommodation

The greateſt Difficulty was about a Gentleman, that had made ſome Speeches reflecting on the Family of the *Krziſzpins*, and had attacked them in the tendereſt part. He had informed againſt them to the Supream Tribunal, where he had produced ſeveral Articles againſt them, which had ſo much weight with the Judges as to prevail upon them, to declare the Palatin of *Witeps* and his Brother Uſurpers of the Title of Nobles, and diveſted of all their priviledges. The Informer had too little Intereſt in this Affair to perſwade the publick, that he undertook it upon his own head. The *Krziſzpins* did not queſtion but the *Sapieha's* had ſet him on, and that if that unknown perſon had not been ſure of their protection, he would not have been ſo inſolent. The Palatin of *Witeps* demanded Satisfaction for that Affront, and they were forced to grant it him, becauſe he threatned not to conſent to any Accommodation, unleſs this Clauſe was inſerted.

After any Sentence is paſſed in *Poland* by a Supream Court of Judicature, there lies no Appeal, nor can any Petition be allowed to take off the Judgment. All that can be done in this Caſe is to have recourſe to the Accuſer to make him recant. This Remedy commonly

monly proves to no purpoſe, ſince he who has had the better of it before the Supream Tribunal, muſt be forced to own himſelf a *Rogue*, and to declare that by falſe Allegations, he has ſurprized them to paſs a wrong Sentence.

He who accuſed the Palatin of *Witeps* and his Brother, was a Man charged with, and convicted of ſo many Crimes, that the very Recital of them would make one tremble. This Villain did well to add to his other Offences of Murder, Robbing and Burning of Houſes, the Sin of Forgery and Calumny. It was therefore agreed, that this Wretch ſhould give the Palatin of *Witeps* ſuch an Acknowledgment as he ſhould demand of him; and that the Satisfaction might be the more Authentic, a Clauſe was added, that it ſhould be done publickly in the Diet of *Samogitia*, which was to be held in *January* 16[illegible] and the Gentleman was there to make Reparation. Had the Diet been held in the open Field, he would perhaps have made his Eſcape. By the Advice of *Benedict Sapieha*, Great Treaſurer of *Lithuania*, the Speaker ordered them to meet in the Church, by reaſon of the Cold which was then very ſharp. The Friends of the Palatin of *Witeps* ſhut up the Doors, ſummoned the Gentleman to make good his Word, and to recant the Calumnies which he had uttered. He was ready to do all they deſired of them, when a fatal Accident to him and the Palatin of *Witeps*,

*teps*, occaſioned the one's death, and raiſed new Diſturbances in the other.

The Palatin was looked upon as a Man that did not tye himſelf up ſervilely to his Word, which he had broken ſeveral times, and 'twas thought he would break it again as ſoon as this Buſineſs was well over. One of *Sapieha*'s Friends who was reſolved to prevent it, made uſe of ſuch a Stratagem, as *Matchiavel* himſelf would have admired if he had been alive

Moſt of thoſe who compoſed the Diet of *Samogitia*, knew the Gentleman we have been ſpeaking of; and were incenſed againſt him, for the Cruelties he had been guilty of. He who had conſpired his Ruine, ſaid, and handed about this Saying to the reſt, *See the Villain that killed your Relation, that burnt your Houſe, and that has diſgraced your Family.* There was no need of more Words to raiſe their Spleen againſt him; they fell upon him in the Church, and purſued him to the Veſtry, where they killed him with their Sabres; and the ſacredneſs of the Place, to which he was fled for Sanctuary, could not protect him from the Danger, to which his Crimes had expoſed him.

The Palatine of *Witeps* was the only perſon that did not partake in the publick Joy of this Man's death, which afflicted him, becauſe that Repararion which ſhould have re-eſtabliſh'd his Honour, could not now be made him. He who was the contriver of this Murder, waited upon him with ſeveral others,

to complement him for having been reveng'd of one who had caſt a blemiſh upon his Family.

There was no mention made in the Articles of Agreement, either of the Biſhop, or the Chapter of *Vilna*, who ſeem'd to be the perſons moſt concern'd. It was not becauſe they were abandoned by their Friends, though *Krziſzpin* and *Oginski* never intereſted themſelves any more in the Prelate's Quarrel, after he had declin'd eſpouſing their Sentiments right or wrong. Another reaſon which hinder'd the Accommodation, was the difficulty of finding a *Medium* to reconcile thoſe perſons, who made ſuch extravagant pretenſions. The Biſhop demanded a promiſe, that the Troops ſhould no more be quartered in the Dependencies of his Dioceſs, with two Millions to ſatisfie him for the Loſſes he had ſuſtain d. The Great General would not agree to the firſt Article, becauſe if the Church were exempted from the Quartering of Soldiers, the Gentry would be over-burden'd with them. He required that the Biſhop ſhould take off the Excommunication iſſued out againſt him, and ſuppreſs the Libels which had caſt a Reflexion upon his perſon; upon thoſe Conditions, he offer'd to pay him 100000 Franks, at ſeveral payments. The Prelate's Friends adviſ'd him to accept of that Summ, and ſaid, it was better to reſt ſatisfied with a little, than to run the riſque of loſing the whole. He ſeem'd to be mov'd by their

their Remouſtrances, and 'tis thought he would have accepted of theſe offers, if the Deputies of the Chapter of *Vilna* had not ſtarted an Objection to it, giving out that it was unreaſonable, ſince the Loſs was common, that the Biſhop only ſhould receive ſatisfaction. They added, that if he proceeded any farther, they would prefer their Complaints of it to his Holineſs. The Pope was accordingly inform'd of the buſineſs, but 'tis uncertain whether by thoſe who threatned to complain, or by the Remonſtrances of the Palatine of *Vilna* and his Emiſſaries. Perhaps both of the parties had a hand in it, and the Complaints were ſo ſevere, that the Biſhop thought it proper to clear himſelf, and for that reaſon he went to *Rome*. Whilſt that Prelate was on his Journey, the Peace of the Confederates was concluded, by which means he was not comprehended in the Treaty, and they excus'd it upon the account of his Abſence, which had incapacitated 'em from entring into the Debate of his Rights, and becauſe the holy See had taken cognizance of his Affairs. Tho' the *Nuncio* had to no purpoſe us'd his Endeavours to accommodate the buſineſs, yet it was not quite deſperate. The Biſhop did not return till *April* 1697. and then he brought with him an ample Commiſſion, that the Committee of Immunities ſhould addreſs themſelves to the *Nuncio* of his Holineſs, to put an end to a Difference which had laſted too long, and might be attended

with dangerous conſequences. The Attempts which this Prelate made, were not wholly inſignificant; and tho' they did not procure to him the Traquillity which he aimed at, yet they occaſioned his Enemies to keep within bounds.

*Oginski* was blam'd for having made the Peace without comprehending in it the Biſhop of *Vilna*, who had been in part the moſt ſpecious pretence that had authoriz'd his Rebellion. Every one knew, that he could not declaim againſt *Sapieha*, ſince that General had reap'd no advantage by it; but neceſſity forc'd *Oginski* to make ſuch an Agreement as he could get. The French Ambaſſador had div'd into the true cauſe of the Confederacy of *Lithuania*, he reveal'd the Myſtery to thoſe who were not able to unravel it, and who would give no credit to the Letters which the Palatine of *Vilna* had intercepted This Miniſter gave them to underſtand, that the Great Enſign had been won by the Queen's Money, and that all he did was only to ſupport the Intereſts of Prince *James*. There was need to ſay any more to draw off the moſt faithful of *Oginski*'s Party; ſo that this General of the Confederates was ſo prudent as to put an end to this Affair, which elſe would have turned to his ruine.

Whilſt the Confederates of *Lithuania* were in Conteſt, and diſcourſed of an Accommodation; the Confederate Army of *Poland* was more quiet in outward appearance,

ance, *Baranowiski* had killed no Man, yet had ruined all *Ruſſia*. He levied 32000 Florins of the City of *Leopold*, and the *Jews* were forced to give him 14000 to exempt them from quartering the Army upon them. The City of *Zolkiew* and its Dependencies which were part of the King's Eſtate, met with no beter treatment; they demanded 100000 Florins of them, and in caſe they refuſed to pay that Summ, they threatned them with Military Execution.

The *Turks* and *Tartars* advanced with 50000 Men within 8 Leagues of *Leopold*, and plundered all that the Rebels had left behind them. *Baranowiski* looked upon their Booty as a prey which had eſcaped his Hands; and to force them to reſtore it, ſent out a Detachment, who after ſeveral ſlight Skirmiſhes, returned back to their General very much diſcontented, that he had employed them in a Service, where they got nothing but blows.

Thoſe few Troops, who ſtill remained in their Duty, did their utmoſt to put a ſtop to the Incurſions of the *Tartars*, ſome of which they took, who declared, that they fell into the Kingdom only at the Sollicitation of ſome *Poles*, and that the Chief of them had only invited them in order to make the Republick ſenſible how neceſſary it was to haſten the Election of a King, and to call the Diet during Winter. This Declaration ſufficiently ſatisfied them of the wicked In-

tention of thoſe Perſons, whom they had already ſuſpected to prefer their own Intereſts before the Publick Good.

The *Tartars* threatned them with a ſecond Incurſion; and it was ſo much the more to be feared, by how much he who had invited them was in a Capacity of ſoliciting them to raiſe new Diſturbances; nor was *Poland* (for want of Money) in a condition to put a ſtop to their Deſigns. The French Ambaſſador, as a Teſtimony of the ſincere Friendſhip which the King his Maſter bore to the Republick, offered 100000 Florins which he had by him to keep the Sultan off from the Frontiers of *Poland*, during the *Inter-regnum*. This Miniſter received a thouſand Thanks from thoſe, whoſe Intentions were only for the publick Good; but the Caſtellan of *Cracow*, who had other deſigns in his Head, eluded as much as poſſible the Ambaſſador's Propoſal. However, this Affair was treated of at *Conſtantinople*, without coſting *France* or *Poland* any thing. The Sultan did not commit thoſe Acts of Hoſtility which he had deſigned, rejected the Offers of thoſe who had invited him, and ſent an Expreſs to give the Republick an Aſſurance of it. But the Caſtellan of *Cracow*'s injuſtice rendred thoſe advantagious Offers a ſecond time uſeleſs; he kept this Envoy in Perſon, contrary to the Publick Faith, did not releaſe him till after the Election, and by this

Treachery

Treachery put the Affairs of *Poland* into a miſerable Condition.

The Republick was not able to redreſs all theſe Grievances. The Army which it maintained had declared againſt it: they had not Funds to levy freſh Troops; whereupon the Senat found themſelves obliged to ſend Deputies to the Confederate Army, to confer with them about the Grievances which they propoſed, and to ſatisfie their Demands.

*Baranowski*, who was afraid of nothing ſo much, as that the Republick would reſolve upon granting the Satisfaction, which he had demanded, had recourſe to freſh Difficulties He forbad them coming nearer to his Camp than within half a League, and declared that he would not ſuffer the *Great* or *Little General* to be preſent at the Conferences, for fear they ſhould take particular Notice of ſome Officers and Soldiers of the Confederacy, and puniſh them as ſoon as the Accommodation was made. The Senate was obliged by neceſſity to do that which the Dignity of the Republick would never have allowed in leſs dangerous Circumſtances.

The Deputies entred into a Conference upon thoſe Terms, that the Rebels were pleaſed to allow them: There were great Conceſſions made to them, they knew how to take the Advantage of it, and declared, that they would not ſeparate till after the Election

ction was over. The Army, which ought to have defended the Republick, continued its Diſorders and lived upon Diſcretion The Marſhal with Menaces demanded of the Primate 150000 Florins, and of the Burghers of *Warſaw* 100000; and upon refuſal ſent his Troops to commit Acts of Hoſtility in the Parts that lay round the City. *Regal Pruſſia*, tho' at ſome diſtance, was not free from Inſults, and twelve Companies entred into it by the ſame Marſhal's Orders. That Bravery which the Gentlemen of *Great Poland* teſtified, kept them ſecure; they had returned the Rebels Anſwer, That in caſe they advanced towards them, they would meet them above half way. *Baranowski* who was for pillaging without fighting, diſſembled his Reſentment, and was for ſtriking Terror only into thoſe who were the moſt capable of Receiving it.

In the mean time, the Deputies of the Republick, who were in Conference at *Leopold* with thoſe of the Rebels, were for buying their Peace at any Price, and to this end they offered the Army a part of what was due to them, with Bills for the Remainder on the Palatinates, and an Amneſty without any Exception.

The Biſhop of *Ploſko*, Chief of the Commiſſioners, who had in behalf of the Senate managed this Accommonation, thought that the Rebels would return to their Duty, becauſe the Deputies approved of the Offers.

fers. This Prelate was bleſſing himſelf for having acquitted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully of his Commiſſion, when he received Intelligence, that *Baranowski* diſapproved of the Terms, and had condemned the Chief of their Deputies to death as a Prevaricator, who had exceed his Powers. However, the Execution of this Sentence was reſpited at the Intreaties of the Commiſſaries of the Republick, who two Months after renewed their Conferences at the Caſtle of *Sambour*, whither *Baranowski* was retired: This Interview was no happier than the former, the Head of the Mutineers who had no more reaſons to alledge, ſought out for a Pretence, which his Malice ſoon furniſhed him with.

He ſuborned one of his Companions who cryed out in the Conference, *That thoſe Collocutions were uſeleſs, ſince the Deputies of the the Senate were for ſurprizing them; that he was adviſed of the Deſign that was laid, of beheading* Baranowski *and his Counſellors, ſo ſoon as the Confederacy was broken: That thoſe brave Perſons ought rather to fall with their Swords in their Hands, than ſuffer their Throats to be cut as Victims: That he did not think there was any among them ſo cowardly as to accept of ſuch enſnaring Propoſals; and that it was not reaſonable that Men, whom they could not conquer with their Arms, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be caught by Promiſes.*

He

No ſooner had this ſeditious Perſon finiſhed his Speech, but his Comrades gave him their Approbation, crying out that they were for no Accommodation, and that they would lay violent hands on thoſe who ſhould hearken to their Propoſals. The Marſhal immediately iſſued forth a *Manifeſto*, wherein he juſtified his Conduct, as being abſolutely innocent. The Senators convened at *Leopold*, declared him ſeditious, and the Confederate Army Rebels, and Enemies to their Country.

Deſperate Remedies often prove to be the moſt ſound. No ſooner was this Declaration publiſhed, but the Confederate Army deſired three Week's time to conſider on't, which was granted them. The Time was long enough for them to make their Reflections on what was paſt, and to be the better for the Amneſty that was ſo often offered them. Thoſe who were not ſo ſeditious as others, looked upon *Baranowski* as a Tyrant whom they had placed over themſelves. The Riches which they ſuſpected he had acquired, and thoſe Expences he was at, as if he had been a Prince, raiſed a jealouſie in his Companions, and made them diſtruſt a General who was ſo intent upon making his own Fortunes. That Sentence of Death which he had paſſed upon the Chief of his Deputies, excited a Compaſſion in thoſe, that were the leaſt capable of it, and every one declared, that if that unhappy Man was in

any

any fault, they were as guilty as he, in having too blindly followed the Sentiments of their Commander.

Thoſe Reflections made ſuch an Impreſſion, that above forty Companies renounced the Confederacy. This Example ſhocked the reſt, and *Baranowski* was ſo terrified, that he reſolved upon doing the ſame. He conſidered, that he had equally offended both the Clergy and Gentry, and that if every one ſhould abandon him, as a part had done, he ſhould be in danger of loſing what he had ſcraped up, and even his Life too, which he was not willing to loſe as yet, ſince by his Exactions he had changed his Fortune. But nothing tended more to determine him as to that Point, than the approaching Diet, which drew on apace. For fear that that numerous Aſſembly would call him to an Account for the many Diſorders he had occaſioned, he was for taking the Benefit of the Amneſty, which had been ſo often offered to him, and ſent word to Count *Jablonowski* Great General of the Crown, that he was ready to ſubmit himſelf with the Troops that were ſtill under his Command.

It might eaſily be ſeen that neceſſity obliged him to this Submiſſion. Several of the Senators were of opinion to make an Example of Juſtice upon him; but *Jablonowski* of a tenderer Make reſcued him from that Dan-

Danger, to which ſeveral ſaid he had juſtly expoſed himſelf.

The Senate had given this General a full Power of treating with the Rebels, even upon ſuch Conditions as might be advantageous to them, provided they would return to their Duty. By this *Baranowski* ſeemed to be aſſured of his Favour, and *Jablonowski* fruſtrated of his hopes, that the Confederacy would be uſeful to him, was for having the honour of putting an end to an Affair that could be of no advantage to him.

He declar'd to the Confederate Army that the Republick would pardon them; that they might be aſſur'd of it; and that a ſpeedy and ſincere Repentance was the ſureſt way of expiating their faults. Upon his word they met at *Leopold*, their Geueral was at their Head, very well ſatisfied with his good Fortune, and ready to do whatever Count *Jablonowski* commanded him, who neither attempted any thing againſt his Life nor his Eſtate.

The eleventh of *May* was fixt upon for this famous Action; and the Ceremony appointed to be at *Leopold* in the Church of the *Bernardines*. A Canopy was rais'd, under which *Jablonowski* was ſeated. Afterwards *Baranowski* appear'd, more like an Officer, who ſuffers a Reprimand for having not diſcharg'd his Duty, than as a Criminal, who was to be puniſhed for an heinous offence. He threw himſelf

himſelf down at the General's feet, kiſs'd the Footſtool of his Chairon which he was ſate, begg'd pardon, renounc'd the Confederacy, tore the Commiſſion by which he was made Commander in Chief, and laid down his Standards. *Te Deum* was ſung with the ſame ſolemnity as if it had been for the gaining of a Battle. *Jablonowski* was ſo well ſatisfied, that he look'd upon himſelf as *Sobieski* after the Expedition of *Choczin*, which had procur'd him the Crown. He was in the ſame Station, and it was thought that he flatter'd himſelf, that this Action would have acquir'd to him the ſame Reward.

*Baranowski* diſappear'd after he had play'd ſuch different parts. Some thought that he abſented himſelf becauſe of being aſham'd of thoſe Condeſcenſions he had made: Others pretended that the fear of being Aſſaſſinated made him fly for it: Several thought that he had been really murder'd, or that the Authors of his Rebellion kept him cloſe, for fear he ſhould reveal a Myſtery, the ſecrecy of which was of ſo great Importance.

The *Amneſty* granted the Rebels, their Party being weakned, forty Troops having already deſerted them, and the time of the Diet drawing on, were very powerful Motives to reduce the Seditious to their Duty; but yet there were other cauſes that contributed ſtill more towards it. The moſt powerful Families of *Poland* accus'd one another of having excited this Rebellion. The

*Lubo-*

*Lubomirski's* threw all the blame upon the *Jablonowski's*, whom they charg'd publickly of having rais'd the Tumult in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*: The *Jablonowski's*, to acquit themſelves, ſaid, that their Enemies had fomented this Diviſion, to make way for Pr. *James's* Aſcending the Throne. The more clear-ſighted gave out, that theſe two Heads of different Factions, had only been at work for themſelves. This Report, which render'd them equally Odious, oblig'd them to concur together in breaking the Confederacy; which they would have brought about ſooner, had not an Inſeparable Jealouſie betwixt them croſs'd their deſigns.

Each of 'em aſpir'd after the Honour of allaying thoſe Heats, which were capable of putting all *Poland* into flames. Both of 'em knew, that Money was wanting, and with its aſſiſtance they might eaſily adjuſt even the moſt deſperate Affairs. *Lubomirski* order'd the Biſhop of *Plosko* to write to the Cardinal and Senators, that if they would contribute 50000 Crowns, they might ſatisfie the Army. The Cardinal made the Overture to the Senate, and offer'd a Third for his part; the Biſhop of *Cracow*, tho' abſent, promis'd as much for his. *Bonski* Biſhop of *Varmia*, the Queen's Friend, and one of the Richeſt Prelates in *Poland*, declar'd, that he would not give any thing: The other told him, that they would furniſh the reſt, and they were the more ſurpriz'd to ſee the Biſhop oppoſe the

the Debate. But they were more oblig'd to him than they thought for: He made this Scruple only to oblige the Queen, who deſir'd to have the Honour of ſuppreſſing the Confederacy.

Whilſt *Lubomirski* wrote to the Cardinal, *Jamblonowski* advertis'd the Queen of what had paſs'd at *Sambor*, and ſhe had ſent him the ſame Summ to pay off the Army. This General was for making up the buſineſs ſecretly with *Baranowski*, and to this purpoſe had diſſolv'd the publick Negotiation, and did not begin his own private Treaty till after the Commiſſioners were gone. As they were half way on the Road, they were inform'd of the deſign by their Spies, and ſpur'd back again with ſo much ſpeed, that they got time enough to be preſent at the concluſion of the Treaty, and to diſpute the Glory of having terminated this great Affair. The Queen was for attributing the whole Honour of it to her ſelf, becauſe it had coſt her the Money; ſhe expected to have received the Compliments of the whole Nobility, after ſuch an Act of Liberality. But they who made any Reflections upon it, only ſaid, *That thoſe who excited Rebellions were more obliged than others to ſuppreſs them.*

The Queen, Prince *James*, and Count *Jablonowski*, were ſtill looked upon by moſt Perſons as the chief Fomenters of a Confederacy, which had been the occaſion of ſo many Diſorders. This Count was *Sobieski*'s intimate

intimate Friend, when he was elected King, and had employed all his Intereſt to ſet the Crown upon his Head. This piece of Service had raiſed him to be Great General, Caſtellan of *Cracow*, and by that means the the Chief Secular Senator of the Kingdom. Out of Gratitude, he took ſuch Meaſures with the Queen as might bring about a Deſign, the Execution whereof he foreſaw would be very difficult: The Intimacy which he held with that Princeſs, gave an occaſion to thoſe who had no good will to either of them, to give out, *That the Queen being convinced of that Averſion, which the Gentry had for her Family, concerted with the Great General to eſpouſe his Intereſts upon theſe Conditions*, viz. *That ſhe ſhould ſupply him with Money to purchaſe Votes; and that he ſhould ſhare a Crown with her, which ſhe could not procure for her Children.*

This was no new Opinion in *Poland*, they were afraid of ſuch a thing, even fifteen Years before the King's death; ſo that to prevent the Execution of this Project, the principal Lords had entred into private Confederacies, which appeared too viſibly in the Diet, wherein the League againſt the *Turks* was concluded, and wherein there was ſo much diſcourſe concerning the Affairs of Count *Morſtyn*, Great Treaſurer of the Crown. Theſe Reports flattered the Great General's Ambition, who did not trouble his head much in ſuppreſſing them:

And

And if he thought that his familiarity with the Queen, would facilitate his aſcending the Throne, he was mightily miſtaken, ſince that was the Pretence which his Enemies made uſe of to hinder him from it.

*Maria de la Grange d' Arquien*, Q. Dowager of *Poland*, did not think fit to undeceive him. The Gentry ſpake very loudly of the ſeverity of the former Reign, and it was not prudence by an unſeaſonable haughtineſs to increaſe the Number of the Malecontents. There were enow already, and the deſign ſhe had laid of abaſing the greateſt Families, drew upon her every day new Enemies.

It was a difficult Matter to quiet ſuch angry Spirits by ſuch a Conduct: the Princeſs therefore to clear her ſelf, opened her Coffers, and believed that her Liberality woud put a new Face upon her Affairs; *as if the Memory of Good Turns would be as laſting, as that of Injuries.*

The wound was ſo great, that the Remedy proved uſeleſs. They who had received the Money gave out that ſhe had made thoſe Reſtitutions, which Father *Lewis* of *Amſterdam*, a Capuchin (who they ſaid was her Phyſician and Confeſſor) had enjoyned her to make, and that *Poland* was indebted to that holy Man, who took an equal Care of the

Health of the Body, and of the Salvation of the Soul of his Penitent.

But it was not this alone, which had eſtranged the Minds of the *Poles*: The Queen and Prince *James* had contributed as much as others to the weakening of their own party. Ever ſince the Eldeſt Son was married, ſhe had ſhewed a particular Affection to Prince *Alexander*, and this preference ſhe had given him in her Love, had made her think him not unworthy of a Crown. She had perhaps explained herſelf too openly upon that Subject, and Prince *James* had conceived ſo great an Indignation at it, that he quite forgot thoſe Sentiments which Nature it ſelf ſhould have inſpired in him. This happened a little before the King's Death. The Queen never ſince looked upon Prince *James* as her Son, becauſe he had not reſpected her as his Mother. At firſt ſhe neither declared for nor againſt him, and it ſeemed as if ſhe would rather have been the Wife, than the Mother of a King. In this Suſpence ſhe waited till time ſhould give her ſuch Advice, as the preſent Poſture of Affairs would not admit her to take.

*James Sobieski*, the late King's eldeſt Son, did not renounce his Pretenſions, though the Queen ſeemed indifferent, or rather diſaffected

affected to his Deſigns. He knew that the *Poles* had always choſen their Sovereigns out of the Royal Family, and though the Gentry had a Right of chuſing whom they pleaſed, yet he thought his Brother's had no more merit to plead than he, he never found that the younger had been preferred before the Elder, and therefore he flattered himſelf that they would not make him the firſt example of that kind.

His Reputation was eſtabliſhed by a Paſſage, which the *Poles* could not but be pleaſed with. He had attended the King his Father at the raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*, and had fought near his Perſon in the two Battles of *Barcan* near *Strigonium*, wherein the *Turks* had been totally defeated. The Emperor ought to uſe his Intereſt in aſſiſting him, and the honour of that Prince, whoſe Brother-in-Law he was, would not allow him to be engaged for any Body elſe.

The Elector *Palatin*, whoſe Siſter he had married, promiſed to do as much for him, as he had endeavoured for himſelf the laſt Election.

The Elector of *Bavaria* gave him the ſame Aſſurance, though he was employed too much otherwiſe, than to do any thing

thing elſe beſides praying for his Succeſs.

*Charles* XI. King of *Sweden*, had rather ſee Prince *James* on the Throne, than any other of his Competitors. *Livonia* was up in Rebellion, and it ſeemed theſe People over-burdened with Taxes and Grievances, were weary of the Government of their old Maſters. A deſigning and buſie Prince, might have favoured their Revolt and ſo robb'd the Crown of *Sweden* of a Province, that was very advantagious to it. He who ſhould have formed a deſign of reuniting it to *Poland*, could not have been blamed by any Prince; for they all knew that *Sweden* had ſeized upon it, contrary to all the Rules of *Equity* and *Juſtice*, and they had not ſo much as the leaſt Pretence for what they did. They had made their Advantage whilſt the *Poles* were engaged in a War againſt the *Turks* in the Year 1621. and whilſt they were defending Chriſtendom againſt thoſe Infidels, thoſe *Swediſh* Chriſtians had robbed them of this Province.

Time could not make the *Poles* forget ſo conſiderable a Loſs, and though they have not for ſo many Years together been in a Capacity to remedy it, yet by their Com-

Complaints they have testified, That they only waited for a fair Opportunity of doing it. For this Reason the Election of a Prince, who loved and understood War, would have caused those Alarms in *Sweden*, from which the Choice of *Sobieski* would free them. He passed among his Neighbours for a quiet and peaceable Prince, and one who being contented with the Possession of a Kingdom, would leave his Successors to take Care of enlarging its Bounds. It was likewise thought that he had promised *Sweden*, to abandon to it *Samogitia*, the Sovereignty of the Dutchy of *Courland*, and the Bailiwick of *Pilten*, which *POLAND* was still in Possession of, in *Livonia*.

These Measures seemed to be so very well taken, that a favourable Success might have been expected from them; but the Death of the King of *Sweden* happening at *Stockholm*, the 15th of *April*, 1697: made all those Projects to vanish into Smoke.

The Elector Palatin, and the Elector of *Bavaria* fell from their Words, and it was supposed that the latter had himself

himſelf ſome Pretenſions to the Crown. The Abbot of *Scarlati* had been in his Name at *Warſaw*, to make his Compliments of Condolance to the Queen, upon the Death of the King. This Miniſter had made his Obſervations on the Sentiments of the Gentry, with Reſpect to the Intereſts of the Royal Family, and perceived that it was no hard Matter to ſupplant the three Princes of the Blood. The Reaſons which kept them from the Throne was a Bar to the Elector's aſcending it, becauſe (beſides his being a *German*) he had married their Siſter. *Scarlati* informed his Maſter how the Gentry ſtood affected.

This Prince conſidered how little Pretenſions the Younger Brothers had to the Crown, which themſelves had renounced becauſe of their Youth, and that the Queen how paſſionate ſoever ſhe was for Prince *Alexander*, thought no more of it. The Elector, who likewiſe ſaw how odious it would be in him to diſpute the Crown with thoſe, whoſe Siſter he had married, thought of nothing elſe but ſerving Prince *James*, and ſo preferred his Honour before his Ambition.

The

The vaſt deſigns which he had in hand, contributed likewiſe to the making him lay aſide one, which was not as yet ripe for Execution. He was entred into the Confederacy with the *Empire*, *England*, *Spain*, *Holland* and *Savoy* had concluded againſt *France*. So many united Forces ſeemed at leaſt to be able to reduce that Monarchy within its Ancient Bounds. The Confederates had already ſhared the Provinces among themſelves, even before they had conquered them. But the Prudence and Undauntedneſs of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, had rendred their great Deſigns uſeleſs, and ſeconded by the valor of his Troops and the Affections of his Subjects, he took Towns, won Battles, and conquered Provinces. All *Europe* had their Eyes upon him, and looked on him with Admiration, and his Enemies wiſhed for a Peace, which they were only aſhamed to beg.

The Elector of *Bavaria* reflected ſeriouſly on all that paſſed in *Europe*, and without thinking of *Poland*, he was very intent on making himſelf Satisfaction by the Monarchy of *Spain*.

This was not enough to reanimate the Friends of Prince *James*, and the Queen's Indifferency was a great Affliction to them. They remonſtrated to her, That ſhe did more injury to her Family, than thoſe who diſputed the Crown with them, that if ſhe would eſpouſe his Intereſts more heartily, and when ſhe recommended him, would forbear mixing her Complaints agianſt him, his Faction would become more powerful. She hearkened to their Reaſons, but ſhe had ſo far cryed down that Prince, in thoſe former quarrels, and eſpecially ſince the King's Deceaſe, upon the Account of their Domeſtick Intereſts, that ſhe came too late to apply a Remedy to an evil that was become incurable.

*Martin Matezinkſi*, Palatin of *Ruſſia*, dyed about this time, and by his laſt Will bequeathed the Queen and Prince *James* part of his Eſtate, which they thought to be very conſiderable, and enough to comfort them under the Loſs which they had ſuſtained. The Pictures which they met with in his Cloſet were not ſo pleaſing to the Legatees, as the reſt of his Eſtate.

The

The firſt was a lively Repreſentation of a Battle; wherein a Conqueror was deſcribed, giving out his Orders for a general Aſſault: the place beſieged ſeemed to be in the utmoſt Extremity; its Baſtions thrown down, and the Number of the Beſiegers, ſhewed that it had nothing elſe to truſt to, but the Clemency of the Conqueror.

The ſecond, quite different from the firſt, repreſented a long Proceſſion, whoſe march was cloſed with a Jeſuit beating time as he went. This Religious was followed by a Prince, who had a Crown on his Head, with a Scepter in one hand, and a Globe in the other. Two other Jeſuits held before him a Book of Muſick, on which he ſeemed to have fixed his eyes.

If this Picture inſpired Piety, the next excited Compaſſion. A meager Prince appeared upon the Lap of a young Woman, and ſucking the Breaſts of an old One. She whom he ſucked, ſeemed to be no ſtronger in Health, than he was. Thoſe many Crowns which the ſick Man had upon his Head, preſſed him down, and contributed

buted as much to his Weakneſs, as his Conſtitution did. He wanted a great many Jewels in moſt of his Crowns, which ſeemed to be in as bad a condition, as he who wore them.

The laſt Picture was more pleaſing to the ſight, eſpecially to the Covetous. Men of ſeveral Nations were telling out of Money, and *Bethſal* the Jew being repreſented to the Life, was examining, whether the Ducats were paſſable or not; in one Corner of his Garment was his Maſter placed, and if the Crown had not been diſcerned on his Head, one would have taken him for a Banker or Stock-Jobber.

The Eſtate which the Palatin had left was deſigned by the Queen to ſtrengthen the Party, to which he was abſolutely wedded. However, this ſupply was not ſo uſeful as was expected, becauſe the Money was ſequeſtrated, by order of the Cardinal and the Executors of the Will. The Reunion of the Royal Family, would have excited great hopes in them, had not a freſh Candidate cauſed new alarms. The Queen was of Opinion, That *France* would eſpouſe no other Cauſe but her's, and indeed that

that Crown would have ſtood up for the Prince Royal, if he had conſulted his own Intereſt; but the Kindneſs which he had expreſſed for the Enemies of *France*, put it upon taking other Meaſures.

It was then remembred, what had paſſed at the Diet of Election, in the Year 1674. wherein *Sobieski* appeared ſeemingly to carry on the French Intereſt, and was ſo ſucceſsful in the Attempts he had for himſelf, that he ſupplanted a Prince, as eaſie to be deceived, and as hard to be conquered.

*Sobieski* was ſo happy as not to ſee, before his death, the Misfortunes of his Family, and his illuſtrious Rival did not live long enough to comfort himſelf for his Diſgrace, and to ſee the Royal Family of *Poland* loſe a Crown which it had robb'd him of.

The Remembrance of this Intrigue, joined to the Indifferency and Hatred, which Prince *James* bore towards the French, none of which he would admit into his Service, whilſt he entertained Followers of all Nations, was perhaps the reaſon why the Moſt Chriſtian King hearkened to the Propoſals, which his Ambaſſador

Ambaſſador had made to him, of placing a Prince of his Blood in the *Poliſh Throne*. The Undertaking was Noble, and no queſtion but it would have ſucceeded, had ſo great a Prince ſet himſelf heartily upon the Execution of it.

*Melchior de Polignac* Abbot of *Bonport*, had reſided at the *Poliſh Court* ever ſince the Year 1693. in quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *France*. This Employ could not chuſe but be very agreeable to him, by the Satisfaction which the King his Maſter took in his Conduct, and the confidence which the King and Queen of *Poland* had of him. Their Majeſties kept nothing ſecret from him, and nothing was determined in their Councils, but what his Advice was asked upon, which was always followed. The Senate and Gentry had the ſame eſteem for him; his Genius ſeemed to them to be Superiour to that of other Ambaſſadors, and this vaſt Idea which they conceived of him, made them find Defects in thoſe that were inveſted with the ſame Character. The good Offices which he had done for ſeveral Lords under the late Reign, made the *Poles* extol him at a ſtrange rate, and none of them queſtioned his ſincerity.

The

The Reputation of a Miniſter is always honourable and ſerviceable to the Prince; that has made choice of him. The Credit of this Ambaſſador was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that ſo ſoon as ever the King was dead, a great many Gentry waited upon him to offer him their Service, without deſiring ſo much as to know the Name of the perſon, in whoſe Favour he would declare himſelf. *Sobieski* before his Death, had recommended to his Children to maintain a ſtrict Correſpondence with, and to follow the Counſels which that Able Miniſter ſhould give them, of whoſe Fidelity and Capacity he was very well aſſured. He had likewiſe conjured the Queen to take this Counſel, if ſhe were willing to maintain the Crown in her Family.

Every thing is promiſed to a Man at his laſt Gaſp, but when he is dead, Men think themſelves diſingaged from their Word. The Queen had other Deſigns in her Head; ſhe looked indeed upon the Ambaſſador as the Supporter of her Family; but after ſhe had declared to him the Deſire, which ſhe had to ſee one upon the Throne, with whom ſhe might ſhare the Authority; ſhe

ſhe entreated him (without naming the Perſon) to concur with her towards his Advancement.

*Poliguac* hearkened to the Queen, the depth of whoſe Deſign he could not fathom. She ſhould have ſpoken for her Sons, but ſhe did not open her Mind plainly upon that Head. There were ſeveral Lords who would not have deſpaired of aſcending the Throne, if that Princeſs would but aſſiſt them, and ſeveral were in a Condition of ſharing an Authority with her, which ſhe ſhould procure for the perſon ſhe moſt approved of.

Prince *Ketlerus* of *Courland* had privately embraced the Roman Catholick Religion, and thoſe who were acquainted with his Deſign, did not queſtion but the Queen was the true Cauſe of his Converſion.

However, had ſhe been minded to have married a Prince, whom the *French* King ſhould have approved of, his Ambaſſador would never have oppoſed it. But ſhe declared, that ſhe could not prevail upon her ſelf to Marry, but all her Care was for a Prince, whoſe Duty would oblige him not to deſert her.

*Po*

*Polignac* having refused to follow the pleasure of that Princess blindly, she was forced to explain her self more clearly, and that she might not seem to dissemble with the Ambassador, she first of all discoursed to him in the behalf of Prince *James*, of whom she had formerly drawn so frightful an Idea, that it was impossible for her to efface those lively Impressions out of her Mind.

Her best Friends had given her such Counsel, which if it had been duly followed, would have proved the most judicious and most safe Course, she could have taken. The King of *Poland* had left behind him very considerable Summs of Money, and common Fame had so far multiplied his Riches, that he passed for the richest Prince in *Europe*. These Treasures were deposited in the Castles of *Warsaw*, *Marienburg* and *Zolkiew*. Those Friends we have been speaking of, advised the Queen, to affix her Seal and the Seal of the Republick to the Treasures, without enquiring how much they amounted to. Afterwards they proposed to her to offer them to the State, as a Supply to its present urgent Occasions. By this piece of Generosity she would engage the Armies, and

and the whole Gentry in her Interests, and prevent any Foreign Prince from opposing her pretensions. They made her believe that she might choose Prince *Alexander*, or *Constantine*, or even the Elector of *Bavaria*, if she pleased, and that they would obtain the Most Christian KING's Consent. The Princess rejected the proposal, because she could not abandon Prince *JAMES*: Her chief reason was lest she should thereby dispoil her self of the Treasures that she had gathered together with so much trouble.

She communicated her Design to the French Ambassador, and conjured him by the Memory of the deceased King, which he ought to revere, to employ his Interest for the Prince Royal.

This Minister declined, alledging, That the Prince had rendred himself too odious to the King his Master, and represented to her the Difficulties that would traverse that Election.

His Remonstrances were not able to make her change her Mind; so that he was obliged to declare to the Princess, That Prudence would not suffer him to embark on Board a Vessel, which could not avoid being Shipwrack'd.

The

The Queen could not bring her self to abandon the Prince her Son, and much less to sacrifice her Money. The Abbot *de Polignac* found a Method to deprive her of that Chief Support, and ordered Matters so as that which was upon the Point of being imployed against *France*, became a help to that Crown in the time of its need. After having proposed to that Princess, an Annual Income for that great Summ, he possessed her with an Account of its being safe, and of the Profit she would reap by it, which so far blinded her that she made that false Step, which rendred all her posterior Efforts against *France* of no Effect.

At that time she followed in part the Ambassador's Council, and that the presence of the Princes *Alex.* and *Constantine* should not give any umbrage to her eldest Son, she sent them to *France* with that Summ which compleated the Ruine of Prince *James*'s Party, without strengthening that of his Competitor.

The Abbot *de Polignac* gave Advice to his Master of every thing that passed. He knew that the two Princes would have less Interest for the Crown, than their elder Brother, that their Youth and want of Experience, were Causes sufficient to exclude them at a time when *Poland* wanted a King that understood War. Prince *James*'s Pretensions

were more ſpecious than thoſe of his Brothers. The Averſion the Queen had ſhewed for him augmented his Party, and ſome of thoſe who owed him no good Will, began to forbear wiſhing him any hurt, in hopes that if he mounted the Throne, he would entertain Reſentments againſt the Queen, who under his Reign ſhould have no part in the Government.

This was not capable however of raiſing Prince *James*'s Party; for beſides that, they could not forget the Hardſhips put upon them in the preceding Reign, he committed an irreparable Miſtake. One of the Conditions which the *Poles* impoſe upon their Princes is, that they ſhould not marry without the Conſent of the Republick. *Sigiſmund* III. for having contraveened this Law, and married *Ann* of *Auſtria* in 1592. run the risk of being dethroned. After the Death of that Princeſs he threw himſelf Head long into the ſame danger, and by a ſecond Contravention to the Laws of the Kingdom, married in 1605. with *Conſtance* of *Auſtria*, Sifter to his deceaſed Queen. His Holineſs indeed had given him a Diſpenſation for it, but not having obtained the Conſent of the Nation, they took Arms, and formed a Confederacy againſt them, which he had no ſmall Trouble to appeaſe.

*Uladiſlaus* his Son improved the Severity of the *Poles*, his Father's Miſtake proved Advan-

Advantagious to him. This Prince who in 1645. demanded in Marriage the Daughter of *Fredrick* Elector Palatin, communicated his Design to the Senate, and represented to them the Advantage which the Realm might reap from a Princess, who was Niece to the King of *Great Britain*. This August Assembly was not ignorant, that Princes ought to have an Allowance, so long as it is not prejudicial to Religion. An Embassie was deputed to that Princess and the King her Uncle, but upon her Refusal to turn Catholick, the *Poles* made no Hesitation in refusing her their Crown.

*John* III. did not improve those Examples, he neither communicated to the Senat nor to the Nobility, the Design that he had to marry the Prince his Son, but suffered himself to be dazzled with the Lustre of a great Alliance, without foreseeing the dangerous Consequences of it. The Marquis *de Bethune*, tho' of kin to the Royal Family, represented to him, That Prince *James*, by being engaged with the House of *Austria* would lose the Friendship and Protection of the King of *France*, but his Remonstrances were Vain, and the King of *Poland*, without any Regard to such judicious Advice, married his eldest Son on *Elizabeth Amelia*, Princess of *Newburg*, whose Sisters were married to the Emperor, Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*. Such a near Alliance with the *Germans* and the

Houſe of *Auſtria*, did not at all affect the *Poles*, becauſe the Right of chuſing their Sovereigns, delivered them from the Snare which the Court thought they had involved them in.

The French Ambaſſador had ever ſince the *Interregnum* given Advice to the King his Maſter, of the Queen's Waverings, and of every thing that paſſed. He informed him of the Deſign of that Princeſs to have Prince *James* elected, becauſe ſhe had loſt all her Hopes for her younger Son. He did not forget to inform his Majeſty of the Hatred the *Poles* had conceived againſt that Prince, and that they only wanted an Occaſion to ſhew it: That if the Prince of *Conti* were propoſed to them, he would quickly find a very ſtrong Party: And that that was the ſureſt way of excluding Prince *James*; and at the ſame time the moſt Advantageous ſince by taking the Crown from an Enemy, his Majeſty ſhould give it to a Prince of his own Blood.

The Leaders of the Court were conformable to this Project. He began to ſpeak in Publick of a Candidate, whom he had promiſed without telling his Name. The Joy was almoſt univerſal, when he declared, that he did not make uſe of his Intereſt, neither for Prince *James*, nor for the Royal Family. Some Lords had Ambition enough to aſpire

to

to the Crown, but this Minister diverted their Thoughts from it, alledging, That they were too many in Number, that if they pretended to chuse Sovereigns from amongst themselves, the Example of the two last ought to scare them from it, and that the Grandees would never willingly submit themselves to those to whom they thought themselves equal in Merit and Birth.

The Ambassador afterwards run through all the Nations of *Europe*, that might furnish Princes to their Republick. They could no more think of a Prince in *Sweden*, since that Kingdom was become Heretical. *England* and *Denmark* had occasioned too many Disorders by the tumultuary Elections of the two *Maximilians*; so that they must resolve to lose their Liberty as the *Bohemians* and *Hungarians* had done theirs, if they did not exclude them.

*Italy* and *France* were the only Dominions whence they could chuse a Prince to their Mind. Most of the Lords to whom he spoke had travelled in *Italy*, the peace that people had enjoyed of a long time, made them sensible, that there were no such Captains there as those of the former Age, and that *Poland* stood in need of an Hero, which the present Juncture of their Affairs would not allow them time to breed up; but he must be formed to their Hand.

So that *France* alone was the Place which could furniſh *Poland*, with what it was in Vain for them to ſeek for elſewhere; and at fine declared to them, who it was that he himſelf would Name, if it were in his Power to chuſe. This Prince was by Birth the laſt of the Blood Royal of *France*, there being ten, who by the Right of Nature ought to aſcend the Throne before him; *Poland* had no Cauſe to fear, that he would abandon her, as King *Henry* did after the Death of *Charles* IX. his Brother; ſo that the only thing that the *Poles* had to apprehend, was leſt a Prince ſo [illegible] accompliſhed as he, whom he named to them, ſhould make a Difficulty to accept a Crown, which they were reſolved to offer him.

The contrary Party, being alarmed by the Reputation of the Candidate, reunited all their Forces to divert the impending Storm. The Emperor repreſented to his Allies, the Jealouſie that all *Europe* had at the grouth of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, when they ſaw that Family poſſeſſed of the Empire and *Spain*. He put them in mind how often they had accuſed them of aſpiring to the Univerſal Monarchy. What Wars had been raiſed againſt them, to traverſe the Deſigns they ſuppoſed them to have formed; that their Buſineſs was at preſent to ſet Boundaries to a Potentate, whoſe Ambition ought to be ſo much the more ſuſpected, that he had

had enriched himſelf with the Spoils of all his Neighbours: That the League of *Auſtria*, into which ſo many Princes had entred, could not put a ſtop to the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, and if the *Poles* ſubmitted themſelves to that fiery Nation, they and all *Europe* would find themſelves involved in ſuch a Slavery, as no Prince would be capable of delivering them from any more.

All thoſe Complaints were ſpread even into the Dominions of thoſe Princes, who did not concern themſelves in the Matter. The Miniſters of the Allies publiſhed them through all the Provinces of *Poland*. *Polignac* in his Audiences, Converſation, and at Meals, ſhewed the Vanity of thoſe Diſcourſes, and that the *Poles* had nothing to fear from a Nation at ſuch a diſtance from them, that thoſe who attempted to poſſeſs them with that Notion did them wrong; that they were too brave to fear that any Nation could accompliſh that which the *Romans* durſt never Attempt; that the French aſſiſted their Allies, but were far from oppreſſing them; that *Sweden* was a very freſh inſtance of it; that that Kingdom would remember the Alliance they had with *France*, as long as they preſerved the Provinces, which the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, had reſtored them, by means of the Crown of *France*.

He afterwards diſcourſed on the Genius of the *Germans*, who were not baulked by repeated Denials, but had the Crown of *Poland* in view at every *Interregnum*. That *France* and *Poland* were the only Kingdoms in *Europe*, where the *Germans* had not been able to extend their Dominion: That the Empire, the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* had fallen to the Share of the Cadets of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: That the Eldeſt Branch had ſucceeded to the Monarchy of *Spain*, and the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: That they had invaded that of *Portugal*, only becauſe it lay convenient for them, and without the Aſſiſtance of *France* it had remained under their Dominion ſtill, That *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and lately *Great Britain*, had fallen under the Dominion of Princes that were originally *Germans*: That the *Poles* might, if they pleaſed, add their Crown to all thoſe Conqueſts: That he had not Power enough to prevent them; but he was too much their Friend to give them ſuch pernicious Advice.

The Enemies of *France* did not give over their Deſigns, though hitherto every thing had ſucceeded ill with them. The Queen perceived her Son excluded in all the petty Diets. She was very much incenſed againſt *France*, and her hatred increaſed the Prince of *Conti*'s Party. Her Reſentments came to ſuch an height againſt the Ambaſſador of that Crown

Crown: That in *Nov.* 1696. ſhe ordered her Picture to be taken out of the Palace of that Miniſter, which contributed more than all that the Abbot could do or ſay to confirm the *Poles* on his ſide, who were always afraid that there was ſome ſecret underſtanding betwixt him and her in favour of the younger Princes her Sons; whereas had the Queen been ſo much Maſter of her ſelf as to have carried it fair outwardly with that Miniſter, ſhe would have thereby render'd him ſuſpected. Some further Endeavours were us'd to calm her, by repreſenting to her that ſince the Indignation which *France* had conceiv'd againſt her Eldeſt Son was juſt, ſhe had no reaſon to complain, but ſhe ſhut her Eyes upon all thoſe conſiderations, and only ruminated upon the French's depriving her Son of a Crown, which the Cuſtom of his Country ſeem'd to have aſſur'd him of, ſhe expreſs'd her Reſentments very highly againſt that Miniſter, who being more addicted to the Intereſt of his Maſter, and to his own Duty, than dazzled with the hopes of making his Fortune, which that Princeſs offer'd him, or with the perſonal Eſteem ſhe diſcover'd for him, became the Inſtrument of the Ruine of her Family, by raiſing up the Prince of *Conti* as a Candidate for the Crown.

There were two things ſhe could never forgive him. The firſt, that he had ſo much Courage as to prefer his Duty to that which ſhe

ſhe demanded of him. The ſecond, that without informing her of his deſign to advance the Prince of *Conti*, he had found a way to deprive her of two Millions. This Reflexion was ſo much the more cutting to her, that by her Complaiſance ſhe had weakned the Party of her Son, and fortified that of the only Competitor that he had reaſon to fear.

She had every day ſome New Subjects of Mortification by the Reſults of the petty Diets, who after the Convocation aſſembled according to Cuſtom in the Provinces. That they might not be without Council during the *Inter-regnum*, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to meet every day ſix Weeks. or at leaſt every two Months on different days, and to communicate their Deliberations to one another by Deputies. Theſe were new Cares laid upon thoſe who were to inſpire ſo great a Body with Reſolutions.

The firſt Aſſemblies were very tumultuous, becauſe of the rupture of the Convocation or Preliminary Diet, of the Confederacy of the Armys of the Complaints of the Palatine of *Vilna* againſt the Queen, and of the Correſpondences that were diſcover'd with the Enemies of the State. It was alſo believ'd that there would have been great Conteſtations upon account of the Act of the General Confederacy drawn up by the Cardinal

dinal after the Rupture of the Diet. The Primate had then as many Enemies as the Queen, becauſe he had maintain'd her Intereſt with ſo much heat, that he was accus'd of ſtubbornneſs.

But Reaſon carried it againſt Prudence, and the Act of the Confederacy was generally receiv'd in all the petty Diets: But ſome Reſtrictions were made in it, according to the Genius of the Palatinates. The Articles generally agreed on were, 1. That they oblig'd themſelves by Oath to chuſe no King, but one that was certainly a Catholick, and the Princeſs his Wife, if he were married, the like. 2. That they ſhould not propoſe any Piaſta or Native. 3. That the Diet of the Election ſhould be held from the 15th of *May*, to the 26th of *June*, and that all the Nobility ſhould attend there on pain of Infamy and Military Execution, which they call the *Poſtpolita* of Rigor. But the fourth Article propos'd was abundantly more ſevere. They deſign'd to terminate at the Election, the Proceſs begun at the Preliminary Diet at the Succeſſion of the King for the Grievances of the Nation, which conſiſted in this, that he had not in ſo long a Reign fulfilled any of the Agreements to which he was engaged by the *Pacta Conventa*. That Prince had promiſed to retake *Caminiec*, he had not made any Military Expedition, that had been profitable to *Poland*: He had not founded in the Kingdom

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an Academy for the Inſtruction of 300 Poliſh Gentlemen, nor had he ſatisfied the Elector of *Brandenburg* as to his pretenſions upon *Elbing*. Thoſe that were Men of ſenſe foreſaw that this omiſſion would ſometime or other occaſion a fatal War to the Republick.

The unanimity of the *Poles* on thoſe four Points gave them the force of a Law, as if the Convocation had not been broke, but in the petty Diets following they had a mind to enquire after the true Authors of ſo many Diſorders. They excluded thoſe that were accuſed and convicted of them. The Storm fell in divers Places, and all at once upon the Head of Prince *James*, who then perceived the ſudden Change of his Fortune, and began to repent him of his uſeleſs profuſeneſs. He who thought himſelf ſure of the Crown in *November*, ſaw himſelf excluded in *December*, by the different Reſults of the petty Diets. *Pruſſia* was the firſt Province that gave him the fatal Blow, and deſcribed him ſo well, without naming him, that no Body could miſtake him. *Volhinia* afterwards *Ruſſia*, the Palatinates of *Lublin*, *Plosko*, *Vilna*, *Novogrodok* and many others did likewiſe exclude him; ſo that it was aſtoniſhing to find ſuch a great unanimity betwixt Provinces ſo remote from one another. The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, to mortifie the Prince of *Conti*'s Party, and to advance that of Prince *James*, ſent Circular Letters to all the

the Nobility. In ſome Palatinates they were rejected, and in others not read. A Gentleman amongſt thoſe that aſſembled at *Sroda*, having demanded the Biſhop's Letter, put it to ſuch an uſe as Modeſty forbids to mention. The Nobility of *Ruſſia* aſſembled at *Viſnia*, treated this Affair with more ſeriouſneſs, and ordered the ſaid Letter to be burnt by the hand of the Hangman.

*Prince James*, during this time, loſt his Courage. The Ardor and Zeal which ſome of the Senators had teſtified for his Intereſt, cooled exceedingly. He himſelf had a mind to diſcover the Sentiments of the Nobility in the Neighbourhood of *Warſaw*; and that he might do it with more eaſe he went in diſguiſe from *Czerſko*, which is the firſt Diſtrict of *Mazovia*, where a petty Diet was held, but the Prince was known, and ſome Gentlemen purſued him with Sabre in Hand into the very Church, where he was forced to hide himſelf amongſt the Organs, and had he been found, they would certainly have killed him.

After this the ſame Diets excluded all German Princes. The Party that oppoſed *France* made Efforts to obtain the like advantage in ſome Diet or other, againſt the Pr. of *Conti*, but could not effect it. They could not expreſs their malice againſt him any other way, but by ſuch dull inſipid Writings

Writings as thoſe of the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. This obliged the Queen, the Court of *Vienna* and the Allies to have recourſe to other Methods than Negotiations. Every one took different Meaſures, but all of them tending to the ſame end.

The Enemies of *France* perceiving that the Prince of *Conti*'s party increaſed every day in *Poland*, thought fit to retard its progreſs at the French Court. They wrote Letter after Letter to *Paris* to ridicule the Abbot *de Polignac*'s Hopes, alledging, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the Enemies of the Royal Family, they aggravated his Promiſes and Liberalities, they maintained, that the *Poles* would never chuſe in prejudice of their King's Son, a Foreigner, who would engage them in War with all their Neighbours. Thoſe Diſcourſes, ſome of which made Impreſſion, together with the fear of raſhly hazarding new Summs, occaſioned that the Court for more ſurety, did ſend a Perſon they could confide in either to verifie thoſe Accuſations againſt their Miniſter or to juſtifie his Conduct.

The Abbot *de Caſtagnetes de Chateauneuf*, was honoured with this Commiſſion, and the Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, he ſet out ſecretly in *Feb.* 1697. with the Count *de Touanski*, Nephew to the Cardinal Primate, who in *July* 1696. had been ſent by his Uncle

Uncle to notifie to the Court the death of K. *John* III. The Abbot arrived in *Poland* the beginning of *April*; he found the Affairs of *France* in as good a Condition as the Queen had repreſented them bad. He himſelf found that moſt of the Lords and Gentlemen were for the Prince of *Conti*, and that only two things were wanting, *viz.* the Prince's Preſence, and the Money promiſed to the Armies. He was entruſted with a Letter from the King his Maſter to the Queen, according as he found her Affairs and Intentions, and the need that *France* ſhould have to make uſe of her Service.

That ſame Day this Envoy Extraordinary arrived at *Warſaw*, the Queen left it by order of the Palatinats, who forced the Cardinal and Senate to that Rigor. The abſence of that Princeſs was not the only cauſe why the *Moſt Chriſtian King*'s Letter was not delivered to her. The Lords of the French Faction demanded it, becauſe of their Apprehenſions that a Princeſs, who was for making her advantage of every thing, might make uſe of it with the Publick, and perſwade them that the Abbot *de Chaſteauneuf* was come to overturn what the Abbot *de Polignac* had done, to ſerve the Royal Family againſt the Prince of *Conti*, and by that means to baffle all the hopes of the Republick. The Envoy did not think fit to oppoſe thoſe demands which appeared ſo Juſt.

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It was his prudence to give no cauſe of Suſpicion to the Friends of *France*, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſurprized by the Queen, who did not alledge that the Prince of *Conti*'s party was ſo weak in the Kingdom, but to have Pr. *Alexander* ſubſtituted to him, to the end that he who was ſo unacceptable to the *Poles* being ſupported by *France*, her Son Prince *James*, as ſhe thought, would have no other Competitor to dread.

Theſe were the Meaſures that the Royal Family took. The Court of *Vienna* and the Allies took far different Methods to have the Prince of *Conti* excluded. They propoſed other Candidates, who were no other ways agreeable to the *Poles*, but becauſe of the Money they hoped they might receive from them. The Prince of *Newburg* would fain have been propoſed, till ſuch time as another came to take his Place, and to furniſh the Summs of Money, that he had neither Will nor Power to diſtribute. He knew what the two laſt Elections had coſt his Family, and ſo took warning by that Example.

*Leopold*, Duke of *Lorrain*, was alſo propoſed. He had no greater reaſon to expect ſucceſs than the Duke of *Newburg*. His Mother had no great Cauſe to be content with the *Poles*, who after having prefered a Fr. Lady to her, had alſo refus'd her her Dower. The *Family* of *Patz*, that ſtood up for her at the laſt

*Election*

Election, had now loſt all their Credit, and ſuch of them as remain'd were young, and had no publick Poſts; ſo that ſhe ſaw it was in vain for her Son to pretend to that Crown which had been twice refus'd to ſo Great a Prince as *Charles* D. of *Lorrain* her Husband.

This Propoſal however gave new Allarms to the Queen and Prince *Sobieski*. They look'd upon it as an Intrigue of the Court of *Vienna*. They expreſſed their Reſentments of it, and complain'd that it was an ungrateful Retribution from the Germans to the Family of a Prince who had ſav'd the capital City of the Empire. Theſe complaints were very touching, becauſe they were juſt. The Imperial Court was as high on the other hand, and anſwer'd, that *Sobieski* had hinder'd the *Poles* from paying the Dower of the Queen Widow to K. *Michel*, that his Imperial Majeſty would make Repriſals upon the Eſtates of thoſe who had been the Authors of that Injuſtice, and that the Dutchy of *Olaw* which Prince *James* poſſeſs'd in *Sileſia*, ſhould ſerve in part to make good that damage.

The Surprize was extraordinary when *Don Livio Odeſe Chalci* was propos'd with the Emperor's protection, and recommended (according to common fame) by his Holineſs. His Merit was founded upon that of *Innocent* XI. his Uncle, who had Govern'd the Church with that Integrity which Chriſtians

admire in the Sovereign Pontiffs of the firſt Ages. *Don Livio* was a proof of it, ſince his Fortune was the ſame as before the Exaltation of his Uncle, and the Emperor who had a mind to acknowledge the ſervices which that Sacred Pontiff had done him, made his Nephew a Prince of the Empire, and by a ſecond Liberality, which coſt him as little as the former, he would have given him a Kingdom, or at leaſt made him believe he had ſuch a deſign.

*Don Livio* believed that thoſe promiſes were ſincere, becauſe they flatter'd his Ambition; he ſent into *Poland* the Abbot *de Monte Catini*, a Conſiſtorial Advocate, to ſupport his Intereſt, which they pretended to be ſo far advanced. The *Poles*, who love Raillery, and don't ſpare even thoſe from whom they get Money, asked one another, if *Odeſtchi* had any Trial in *Poland*, and whether that *Roman* Advocate was come to ſollicit the Cauſe.

They did not reſt here, but ſerv'd the *Italian* after the Mode of his own Country, and by Paſquils more outragious than the preceding Railleries, they cur'd him of his Ambition to appear any more as a Competitor. They publiſh'd in writing that *Davia* his Holineſſes *Nuncio*, declar'd himſelf highly for *Odeſchalchi*, that he offer'd thirty Millions to the Republick, and that *Italy* would deſpoil

deſpoil her ſelf of what ſhe had moſt conſiderable in favour of him. There was publiſh'd at the ſame time a Liſt, and a Valuation of all his precious Jewels and Moveables; amongſt which were three of *Raphaels* beſt Originals, ſix by *Paul* of *Verona*, four of *Julius* the Roman, ſeven of *Titian*, thirteen of *Hannibal Carache*, and abundance more of other Great Maſters, the firſt time perhaps that ever the *Poles* heard of them. There were two Antient Statues of *Romus* and *Romulus*, that were valued at a great Rate, as alſo a Braſs Medal of *Otho*, deſtined to pay two quarters to the Army; In fine, they were reſolv'd to deliver to the *Poles* on the day of Coronation, the Statues of *Paſquin* and *Marforio*.

After this there was little more ſpoken of *Odeſchalchi*. The *Poles* well perceiv'd that they muſt have a Warriour to oppoſe to the Prince of *Conti*. The Elector of *Brandenburg* propoſed Prince *Louis* of *Baden* to the Allies, whoſe Reputation was equal to that of the greateſt Captains of his Age He had preſerv'd *Tranſilvania* to the Emperor, at a time, and in ſuch a conjuncture when *Germany* would have thought that they had been very well quit, if they had come off with the Loſs of that rich Province only. He had routed the Turks at *Salankement*, and given 'em ſuch an entire Defeat, that the *Viſir Cuproli*, who ſeem'd to be the only Stay of the *Ottoman*

Empire, was killld in that Action. This Prince, after ſeveral glorious Campagns in *Hungary*, took upon him the Command of the Confederate Troops on the *Rhine*. The *Germans* reckon'd it for a Signal Victory in this General, that he declin'd fighting with the French, ſo that he was as much eſteem'd for this amongſt the Allies, as was the Roman Dictator *Fabius*, who thereby ſet bounds to the Conqueſts of *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*

The Elector promiſed to furniſh all the Neceſſary Expences for this Great Deſign, and the Prince of *Baden*, to make him a Compenſation, was, when advanc'd to the Throne, to yield him the Soveraignty of the Royal *Pruſſia*, and to diſcharge him of the Fealty and Homage which he was oblig'd to perform for the Ducal *Pruſſia* to the Republick of *Poland*. The Elector was civil enongh to promiſe ſuch great Sums, but not able enough to pay them, and the Confederacy was exhauſted by the exceſſive Expences of a War, which went on but ſlowly.

The Affairs of *Poland* were in too great diſorder, neither the Elector's Money, nor the Merit of the Prince propos'd to them, were able to re-eſtabliſh them. The Money muſt be paid that was owing to the two Armies, the War muſt be maintain'd againſt the Turks, and *Caminieck* re-taken from thoſe Infidels

Infidels. The Prince of *Baden* was very fit to command their Armies, but not rich enough to pay them.

*France* found in *Poland* another Enemy, and Hereſie, a new Protector in the perſon of *Staniſlaus, Dombski B.* of *Cujavia*, who at firſt embrac'd Prince *James*'s Party, becauſe he ow'd his Fortune to his Father the Late King. The acknowledgments he teſtified of it would have honoured the Memory of the Prince that made Choice of him, if Motives of Self-intereſt had not ſtifled his firſt Vertuous Sentiments.

The French Ambaſſador perceived, that the Biſhop of *Cujavia* did openly oppoſe his Deſigns, and having a mind to know his Sentiments, found that he was for Prince *Sobieski*; That Prelate confeſſed that the Prince of *Conti* had all the good Qualities, which the *Poles* could wiſh for in a Soverign, and that he would not be for excluding him, were it not that he and his Princeſs were both French, alledging, that thoſe of that Nation could not be acceptable to the *Poles*, after the ill Treatment they had received from Queen *Mary*, Wife to the late King, as if it had been more dangerous to chuſe a King of that Princeſſes Country, than to ſet the Crown upon the Head of her own Son.

This was not the only Difficultie that the Biſhop of *Cujavia* found in the Propoſal made him. He was apprehenſive that the choice of a French Prince would be diſpleaſing to the Emperor. The *Poles*, ſince the death of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, had made no ſuch ſcruple, and in five Elections, they made no objection of provoking the *Germans* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* by their Refuſal.

Thoſe Reaſons, and many others, which the Abbot *de Polignac* alledg'd in divers Conferences that he had every day with the moſt conſiderable Lords, were capable to move any Man that had had nothing elſe in view but the publick Welfare, but he was acted by other Motives. *Malakoski* Biſhop of *Cracovia* was above 80 years old. He enjoy'd the richeſt Benefice of the Kingdom, and liv'd too long in the Opinion of thoſe that thought of nothing elſe but enjoying his Spoils.

If *Sobieski* were choſen, and that the Biſhop of *Cujavia* had contributed thereto, the Biſhoprick of *Cracovia* had been his Reward: He could not have expected the ſame gratuity from the Prince of *Conti*, who he ſuſpected had promiſed it to the Biſhop of *Ploſko* This Motive was known, and made the Nobility to murmur againſt the Ambition of that Prelate, who was too intent upon making his Fortune; He thought then of clearing himſelf, and anſwering the Ambaſſador at the

the ſame time; this obliged him to write his Political Conſiderations, in Latin: But the moſt learned in that Art perceived nothing curious therein, and thoſe who ſought after the purity of the Language, found nothing but what was very dull.

The firſt part of the Libel contained the feeble Reaſons brought by that Prelate for excluding the Prince of *Conti*; he pretended that his Election would be as prejudicial to *Poland*, as little advantagious to *France*, that Nation in the preſent Conjuncture of the Affairs of *Europe*, having attracted the hatred of all its Neighbours, without having preſerved the Friendſhip of any.

This Reproach had a contrary effect to what the Author had fancied: The French were commended for maintaining a War with ſo much Vigour againſt ſo potent Enemies.

He added, that the League concluded againſt the Moſt Chriſtian King, would not admit of the Choice of a Prince of his Blood for King of *Poland*; anſt that the Confederates would do their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the ſame.

'Twas not believ'd that the *Polanders* were capable of the ſame fear as the Biſhop of *Cujaavia*; and no body doubted but the

Confederates uſed all poſſible Efforts to oppoſe the Pretenſions of *France*: But to judge by the Events of a War which had laſted eight Years, one might have gueſs'd that their Enterprize would ſucceed as ill as all the reſt they had projected.

The reaſon that the Biſhop alledg'd againſt *France*, as moſt plauſible, was that which was in leaſt conſideration with the *Polanders*. If we chuſe a French-man, ſays he, it is a rupture with the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the *Germans*, who under the Reign of *Caſimir* ſuccoured us ſo advantagiouſly againſt the *Swedes*, who had violently poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the Kingdom.

This Reflexion cauſed the *Polanders* make others quite contrary to it: They call'd to mind what had happened under the Reign of *Sigiſmund* III. when in the Year 1628 he lent his Fleet to *Ferdinand* the ſecond, to make uſe of it againſt *Denmark*, although he had occaſion for it himſelf in *Pruſſia*, againſt the *Swedes*, who took this opportunity to inſult the City of *Dantzick*.

So ſignal a ſervice made *Sigiſmund* believe that the Emperor would ſuccour him upon the like occaſion. The following Year he had need of ſome Troops to defend *Pruſſia* againſt *Guſtavus*, who waſted that Country. *Walſtein* General of the Imperial Army was ordered

ordered to ſend ſome Troops to the ſuccour of the *Polanders*; he ſent 2000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot thither under the command of Collonel *Arnhem*, a Man of no Honour, and who was convicted of holding a Correſpondence with the Enemies of thoſe to whoſe ſuccour he was ſent. *Sigiſmund* complain'd of the Conduct of this Officer; he was recall'd; and as they had taken a reſolution to deceive the *Polanders* in effect, and at the ſame time to oblige them in appearance, they ſent two other Commanders ſucceſſively in his place: The firſt was *Henry Julius* Duke of *Saxe Lawenbourg*, and the other *Philip de Manſfeld*, who were both as uſeleſs to the *Polanders* as the firſt; and who were as much blamed for their Cowardice as *Arnhem* had been for his want of Conduct and Treachery.

This Army, tho' it was ſo fatal to *Poland*, yet was well paid. *Walſtein* in the Year 1630. demanded the pay due to them, with his uſual Haughtineſs. The Republick would have ballanced it with what the Emperor owed for the Fleet that was employed in his Service. But Intereſt going commonly beyon reaſon, the Propoſal, tho' juſt, was not hearkned to, and the *Polanders* were obliged in the Year 1631. to pay down 50000 Florins of Gold for them, and had the mortification to pay ſo dear for Troops who had done them as much hurt as thoſe of the Enemy.

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The *Polanders* notwithſtanding this rigour, had afterwards recourſe to the *Germans*, in the Reign of King *Caſimir*, who in his War with *Sweden*, receiv'd ſome ſuccours from the Houſe of *Anſtria*. Thoſe ſuccours liv'd after the *German* way; they plundered one part of the Kingdom, while the Enemy laid the other waſte: Notwithſtanding which, theſe Auxiliary Troops muſt be paid: The Republick was quite drain'd, and had no other way to ſatisfie the *Germans*, but by Mortgaging to them the Salt-pits of the Kingdom, for ſome Years, which they almoſt ruined by the great quantities of Salt they carried from thence, with a greedineſs that coſt the *Polanders* dear; they left no pillars to ſupport the Vaults of thoſe vaſt Quarry's, in ſo much that they themſelves were afraid of being buried under their ruines, which obliged them to ſupply this defect by woodden props, which they brought with little charge from the Neighbouring Forreſts. The time they were to enjoy them being expir'd, they ſet fire to the props, and thereby hindered *Poland* from reaping any advantage from that which they could no longer detain from them.

The ſecond part of the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s Book was an Encomium of Prince *James Sobieski*, tho' at the ſame time there was nothing therein but what might as juſtly be applied to any of his Competitors; he is, ſays he,

he, ſober, watchful, liberal, and he loves Juſtice. But the Confeſſion he made that that Prince was no Warriour, effac'd the Great Idea he would have given of him to a Nation, which reckons Valour to be the firſt, and perhaps the chiefeſt Virtue.

The barbarous expreſſions which the Prelate made uſe of in deſcribing his Hero, were not to be underſtood by every body, *Nque patriſat, neque matriſat*; every body put a different conſtruction upon it, ſome ſaying, that, according to this expreſſion, he had neither the Courage of the King his Father, aor the Cunning of the Queen his Mother. Others explained it more favourably, and believed that it was ſaid only to expreſs his mildneſs and liberality. To put the greater contempt both of the Book, & the Author, it was queſtioned to whom the Biſhop had done the greateſt Iujury, whether to the Prince, whom he would have excluded; or to him for whom he deſigned the Crown.

The Abbot of *Polignac* printed ſome Reflexions upon this Libel, and made uſe of terms that were very well pleaſing to the *Polanders*, whoſe Genius he knew, and flattered, as well as their Sentiments, but it had not the ſame effect upon Foreign Kingdoms. However this piece was applauded, and publiſh'd in the Country, for which alone it was compos'd, without being anſwered.

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The Queen, who at laſt perceived the weakneſs of her Party, wrote to the Emperor, and confeſs'd to him, that almoſt the whole Nobility had declar'd for *France*; that the only hope ſhe had remaining, was to cauſe the Projects of that Crown to miſcarry; and that if his Imperial Majeſty would concur with her in this Deſign, the Enterprize would be eaſie. She propoſed either Prince *Charles* of *Nieubourg*, or the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Faction being joyned with hers, would exclude their common Enemy. The Emperor, who knew that Prince *James* had no ſhare in the Election, was glad to ſee that the Queen was diſabuſed. One of the Princes ſhe had propos'd to him, was his Brother-in-law, and the other his Nephew; and ſo near an Alliance would not ſuffer him to engage them ſeriouſly in an Enterprize from which he foreſaw they could not come off with Honour. However, he was willing to make ſome advantage of the diſpoſition the Queen was in; and a Poliſh Senator one of his Inconſtancy, preſented a new Candidate, whom the Council of *Vienna* thought fit not to neglect.

*John Przependowski*, Caſtellan of *Culm*, was the moſt intent of all the Poliſh Gentlemen upon advancing his Fortune: He was an ingenious Man, and capable of Intrigues; but his Courage was not anſwerable to his Addreſs; which his Enemies knowing, they often

aſſaulted

aſſaulted him, which he bore with an ſuch Inſenſibility, as rendered him deſpicable among all brave Men, and made them ſay, that a Man who knows himſelf a Coward, ought not to be ſo Intriguing. This Defect had ſo much ſtained his Reputation, that his Authority was conſiderably diminiſhed thereby, particularly in *Pruſſia*, after the time that he came the Burger-Maſter Deputy of the City of *Dantzick*. He had been a Lutheran, and in the Late King's Reign he turned Roman-Catholick, to be made a Senator; the hopes of advancing himſelf higher, made him ſide wih Prince *James*, as long as his Faction was ſuperiour to that of the other Candidates. But when he found it began to decline, he in *Novemb.* 1696. became of the French Faction, and carried all the *Pruſſians* with him; but his reſtleſs and turbulent Genius ſoon drew him over to another, only becauſe the Ambaſſador of that Crown did not confide enough in him, nor furniſh him with Money enough for his Inſatiable Avarice.

His Treacheries to Prince *James*, and to the Prince of *Baden*, cauſed that Miniſter to ſuſpect him, and render'd him odious to the Lords of his Party, who ſaw that this Man, being too much ſelf-intereſted, did not adhere to the Prince of *Conti*, neither out of Zeal to his Country, nor from any regard for true Merit, but only in hopes to make his Fortune great under a Prince whom he thought

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in a fair way of ſucceeding. This Senator reflecting on the other hand, that thoſe who were more deſerving than himſelf, had embraced the French Faction, and ſo prevented him; he was fully perſwaded that they would have the firſt Dignities of the Kingdom conferred upon them, to his prejudice. This conſideration obliged him to take other meaſures, and to ſearch out ſuch means, as that the Soveraign who ſhould be choſen, might wholly owe the Crown to him.

So ſudden a Change joyned to his former Treacheries, made thoſe who could not yet revenge themſelves of his Perfidy, to curſe and revile him, and to apply this paſſage to him, *Intravit autem Satanas in Judam qui cognominabatur Iſcariotes*; meaning that the Devil had entred into a Traitor called *Przependowski*.

He had married a Daughter of General *Flemmings*, who was in the Elector of *Brandenbourg*'s Service: He deſired his Father-in-law to acquaint him with what was ſaid in the North of *Germany*, of the approaching Election in *Poland*. He underſtood that the Elector of *Saxony* had an exceſſive deſire for the Crown, and that he only wanted the neceſſary Inſtructions for carrying on that Enterprize. *Przedendowski* wrote immediately to the Chevalier *Flemming*, Collonel of a Regiment in the Troops of *Saxony*, and Couſin

Couſin German to his Wife; he offered his Service to the Elector, and upon his Anſwer he went privately, in *February* 1697. to *Dreſden*, where he was received with all the demonſtrations of Friendſhip, Eſteem and Aſſurance that Princes expreſs to thoſe who are uſeful to them. He repreſented to the Elector the preſent State of *Poland*, That Prince *James* was loſt; that his Younger Brothers had no pretenſions to the Crown; that the Queen kept up her Faction with great difficulty, with the few Friends that in Honour had not yet abandoned her; that her Complaiſance for the French Ambaſſador had ſtript her of two Millions, which was the only thing could re-eſtabliſh the Affairs of her Eldeſt Son; that the Princes *Charles* of *Nieubourg*, *Leopold* of *Lorrain*, and *Lewis* of *Baden*, had no party; that that of the Prince of *Conti* was really ſtrong; but that it would not be impoſſible to overthrow it, and to put his Electoral Highneſs in his place, if he would follow the ſame Plan for himſelf, that the Fr. Ambaſſador had laid down for the Prince of *Conti*: That that Miniſter had brought all *Poland* over to the Intereſt of his Candidate, by making a ſolemn promiſe to the Republick to disburſe three Millions for paying the Army, and to pay the ſaid Summ to the Commiſſaries before the Election. That the ſecond thing which that Miniſter deſired of the King his Maſter, was the Princes preſence, which ſeem'd to be neceſſary

neceſſary to avoid the difficulties that might happen by by a Diviſion, and the trouble of an *Embaſſy* which could not go into *France* in a time of War.

*Przependowski* added, that the Abbot of *Polignac* could never perform his promiſes, that ſince the five or ſix hundred thouſand Franks which he had received, only 600000 Livers were ſent him by Bills of *Exchange* upon *Dantzick*; that he had been obliged to proteſt the ſaid Bills, and that the Queen was ſure enough of the Bankers of that City, to hope that that Miniſter would not be better ſerv'd hereafter: That it was not obſerv'd that the Court of *France* purſued this Affair with the ſame vigour as others which they undertake; that if they ſhould purſue it with the ſame Zeal, they would be neceſſitated to ſend their Money in ſpecie that they might not be ſubject to the ill deſigns of the Bankers; that they had occaſion for their Money elſewhere, and that the War which that Crown had with the moſt formidable Potentates of *Europe*, would hinder him from expoſing three Millions, and the perſon of the Prince on board of Ships, which beſides the danger of being caſt away, would run a great riſque of being taken by the Fleet of *England* and *Holland*, which being ſuperiour in ſtrength, guarded all the Paſſes ſo narrowly, that the lighteſt Frigats could not eſcape them. In fine, he concluded that

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it was his Electoral Highneſſes Intereſt to make good uſe of the ſincerity of his Counſel, and to find the Sums neceſſary for ſucceeding in ſo glorious an Enterprize, which was not difficult: That for his part, he had not quitted the French Faction, had he not foreſeen better than another by aſſiſting ſeveral times in Council, the Impoſſibility of executing his deſigns without Money, and that the Ambaſſador of that Crown waited in vain for new Bills of Exchange; that he had examined the Bankers, and that by their Anſwers he knew very well that that Miniſter was in an errour, of which he did not think it proper to undeceive him.

The Caſtellan of *Culm* had reſerv'd for his laſt propoſal, that which he believed would have been the moſt diſagreeable to the Elector, which was, that his Highneſs ſhould turn Catholick, and promiſe that the Electreſs ſhould alſo abjure her Religion: He durſt not quote himſelf for an example, but he cited two others, by whoſe Authority he pretended that what he had done was not criminal. The firſt was of the Elector of *Saxony* in the year 1530. when the Emperor threatned to ſtrip him of his Electoral Dignity, if he did not do his Office of Conſtable of the Empire at a ſolemn Maſs that was celebrated by the Catholicks at *Ausbourg*; the other happen'd ten years after in the perſon of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, whom the Proteſtant Divines ſuffered at firſt to do the Functions requir'd by his

Dignity, to draw himſelf out of the danger he was in of loſing it; that they would not have been more rigorous in regard of the ſecond; that they had authorized Polygamy in his favour, and had given him leave to marry a 2d Wife, without requiring him to be divorced from his firſt; that he did not believe the Saxon Divines were leſs indulgent for their Prince than *Luther* and his Diſciples had been in the paſt Age; that the preſent caſe was more allowable, becauſe a Crown depended upon it.

*Przependowski* ſpoke with ſo great a demonſtration of love, as made him liſten to his diſcourſes: That Prince applied himſelf more to ſatisfie the greedineſs of his Nobility, than to conſult his Divines, whoſe ſcruples might perhaps retard a deſign which required to be forthwith put in execution. The Caſtellan was charg'd to uſe his utmoſt Efforts in *Poland*, and in the mean time nothing was to be omitted in *Saxony* that ſhould be thought neceſſary to make it ſucceed. He was promiſed that the Chevalier *Flemming* ſhould be ſent to put his Orders in execution, before the meeting of the Diet; he receiv'd, at his departure, ſome Preſents, and was loaded with Honours and great Promiſes.

The Elector followed this Project exactly: He had ſome Conferences with the E. of *Brandenbourg*, and caus'd ſome Troops to advance to *Torgau*, near *Sileſia*, under colour of entering upon the Affair of the Succeſſion of *Mecklenburg*,

*burg*, in the Emperor's Name, which was diſputed between the Princes of *Swerin* and *Guſtraw*; he ſold his Right to the Dutchy of *Saxe Lawenburg*, to the Duke of *Hannover* for 500000 Crowns. He demanded of the Emperor the payment of the Subſidies that had been above three years due to him, and treated with the Jews in his own Country; the chief of whom he ſent to *Warſaw* to get Mony in a readineſs againſt the time he ſhould have occaſion for it; he ſold the Revenue of his demain of *Miſnia*, to the Lutheran Clergy of *Saxony*, and raiſed extraordinary Contributions in his Dominions, pretending that it was for the Campagne in *Hungary*. New Money was by his Orders coined at *Breſlau*, which did not give content to thoſe who received it. In fine, he put in practice all the Artifices that could be us'd by any Man who deſigned to procure a Crown to himſelf, and who is capable enough of finding means to attain it.

After having thus taken all his meaſures, he ſent the Baron *de Roſe*, who was one of his Lieutenant Generals to *Rome*: This Officer was admitted to Audience of the Pope, and unfolded to him the Myſtery of the pretended Converſion of his Maſter, and his deſigns of obtaining the Crown of *Poland*. This News was the more agreeable, becauſe it was hoped that Saxony, which in the laſt Age had been the Cradle of Lutheraniſm, might now in this, be its Grave.

4. This News was no leſs agreeable to the

Court of *Vienna*, than it had been to that of *Rome*, but the Motive of it was not ſo pure. It was not doubted but that the Elector deſigned to turn Catholick, and that he would abjure Lutheraniſm. It was known that the proud Humour of this Ambitious Prince would attempt any thing to put a Crown upon his head; that Religion was never regarded by the Saxons, but with reference to Politicks; that in the Age paſt *Frederick* and his Succeſſors embraced Lutheraniſm, that they might enjoy the Church-Lands; and that *Frederick Auguſtus* their Succeſſor, would renounce it with as much eaſe as his predeceſſors had embraced it, ſo ſoon as he ſhould find the like, or greater advantages therein.

Some other Reaſons than thoſe of Religion obliged the Court of *Vienna* to ſupport his pretenſions. The Emperor had a War to maintain upon the *Rhine*, and upon the *Danube*. The Efforts of the League were not ſufficient againſt two potent Enemies, and the Forces of the Empire, and of their Allies, would have had much ado, in a profound Peace with the Turk, to ſtop the progreſs of the French. The Elector of *Saxony* had engaged himſelf to furniſh 10000 Men, beſides his *Quota*, to act againſt the Turks in *Hungary*; the Emperor, who had not wherewithal to pay his Troops, had Mortgaged the Duchy's of *Brieg*, *Lignitz*, and *Wolau* in *Sileſia*, to him, for the ſame. It was foreſeen that this Prince would have more to do in *Poland* than

than he imagined, and that the Protection of the Emperor would be abſolutely neceſſary for him; therefore they were reſolved to make him buy it dear, and perhaps to give up that Mortgage without paying any thing for it. The Elector ſeem'd reſolved to grant every thing, provided he were not croſſed in his Election; and being dazled with the Luſter of a Crown, he was willing to expoſe himſelf to the Charges and the Danger there was in obtaining it.

The Council of *Vienna* had ſtill other pretenſions, far more conſiderable than the former. The Houſe of *Auſtria* had in the beginning of this Age diſputed the Kingdom of *Bohemia* with *Frederick*, Elector Palatine; the Duke of *Saxony* preferring his own particular Intereſt to that of the Proteſtant Religion, he ſided with the Emperor, and in conjunction with the Duke of *Bavaria*, he had taken upon him to execute a Decree whereby the Elector Palatine was baniſhed the Empire. As thoſe two Princes had thereby engaged themſelves in great Charges, the Inveſtiture of the Electorate whereof the Palatine was to be ſtript, was given to *Bavaria*, and *Saxony* had ſtipulated that *Lauzace*, which is a dependence of the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſhould be given to him. This Province was promiſed him by the Treaty of 1620. and it was executed in the Year 1622. becauſe the Emperor had ſtill occaſion for him.

The Electors of *Saxony* have ever ſince

kept *Luzace*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* hath often contrived how to ſnatch from them a Province which it grieved them to part from.

The preſent Conjuncture ſeem'd to favour the Deſigns of the Council of *Vienna*. They upheld the Elector, and confirmed him in the thoughts he had of being King of *Poland*. He wanted Men and Money to diſpute that Crown. The Emperor offered him both, to engage him, and he did not deſpair but that Prince would be willing to loſe a Province to gain a Kingdom: In caſe of Refuſal he might be obliged by force (while he was employed elſewhere) to part from that which he would not have been willing to do with conſent. If his Affairs ſhould prove better than 'twas wiſhed, the Emperor had another advantage, tho' leſs conſiderable, yet nearer in view. *Hungary* was the Theatre of a Bloody War: The *German* Garriſons ruined what the *Turks* had not deſtroyed: And under pretence of ſuccouring the Elector, it was propoſed to ſend ſome Troops to *Poland*, to which that Kingdom ſhould give Winter Quarters and Proviſions.

While the Elector of *Saxony* was Treating in Foreign Courts, the Polanders, who were at *Paris*, wiſhed to ſee the Prince, who was mentioned to them in all the Letters they received out of their own Country. *Francis Fredi du Moulinet* the French Gentle-

man, mentioned in the Election of King *Caſimir*, introduced them to the Palace of that Prince, who received them after ſo obliging a manner, that they began to regard as their Sovereign, a Prince who treated them as his Friends.

Theſe Lords being ready to ſet out for *Poland*, in order to aſſiſt at the Diet, prayed *du Moulinet* to give them ſome Information of the Life and Actions of a Prince for whom they had conceived ſo great an Eſteem.

*Du Moulinet*, who had already wrote to the Biſhop of *Plosko*, to the Abbot *Theodore Wolf*, and to the Palatine of *Culm* upon the ſame Subject, was very willing to give thoſe Gentlemen the ſatisfaction they deſired; and he alſo thought it proper to ſpeak of the Princeſs, to remove the ſcruple that the Polanders might have to ſee a French Woman upon the Throne, after what had happened in the former Reign. We ſhall here relate *Du Moulinets* own words, becauſe they were agreeable to the Polanders, and had the Effect deſired.

*Francis Louis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, of the Blood of *France*, born the 30th of *April* 1664. began his firſt Campagn in 1683. and continued it in 1684. but ſeeing that a Truce was concluded between *France*, the Empire and *Spain*, he thought that Glory called him elſewhere.

This Prince went out of *France* in the

Year 1685. in order for *Poland*: But the Elector of *Bavaria*, through whoſe Dominions he paſt, perſwaded him to go into *Hungary*, where he was the Subject of the Admiration of the Germans, as he would have alſo been of the Poles, if he had purſued his firſt deſign.

In 1686. he returned to *France*, and retired to the Great Prince of *Conde* his Uncle, who died the ſame Year; Providence not having been willing to call him, till after he had train'd up a General, who one day ſhould be as great as himſelf.

The Year 1688. was no leſs Glorious to that Prince than the preceeding Years; he accompanied the Dauphin to the Siege of *Philipsbourg*. Thoſe two young Hero's were lookt upon by the Enemy as if they had been the greateſt Captains of Antiquity; they knew that they had the ſame Virtues, while *France* rejoyced that they were not ſo old.

We will not ſay what Pr. *Conti* did during that War, no body is ignorant of it. The Germans, the Spaniards and the Hollanders have proofs of it, that were as advantagious to *France*, as fatal to the League of *Ausbourg*.

The Valour, Prudence, Mildneſs, Moderation, and other great Qualities of that Prince, make him to be thought deſerving of a Crown; if the only Nation that can give it him does Juſtice to his Merits, they will know.

*Ad*

*Adſciti quantum præminet genitis.*

He married *Mary Thereſa* of *Bourbon*, Granddaughter of the Great Prince of *Conde*. This Princeſs is an Example of Virtue for perſons of her Sex, of whoſe weakneſs ſhe has nothing; Pious without Oſtentation, is Liberal without Prodigality, and far from being vain; ſhe knows how to keep the Dignity of her Rank. When the Prince is in the War, ſhe ſtrips her ſelf of thoſe things that are moſt precious to her, and after the example of her whom the Antients propos'd as a Model of Virtue, ſhe ſays,

*Induat illa*
*Quæ--Bellante poſſit gaudere Marito.*

While the Prince of *Conti's* Friends neglected nothing that could contribute to his Elevation, *John Przependowski*, whom we have mentioned, was returned from *Dreſden* into *Poland*; he had ſo little Credit in the Kingdom, that he knew not which way to begin his New Negotiation: It was agreed that it muſt be kept ſecret, becauſe if he had openly propos'd the Elector, they would have accuſed him, that he had a deſign to pervert *Poland*: It was equally dangerous for him to ſpeak, or to hold his Tongue; and he who had ſo boldly given counſel, found himſelf not in a condition to follow it himſelf.

ſelf. In this trouble he wrote to the Chevalier *Flemming*, that the Ambaſſador of *France* was quiet, that no body fell off from him, and that without Money he had overthrown the Factions of the Queen, and of the other pretenders; that he muſt addreſs himſelf to that Miniſter, who being diſappointed of the Fundamental Succours that he had ſo long expected, had, apparently, a ſecret Order from the King his Maſter, to abandon that Negotiation, and to make the beſt of a bad Market.

Upon theſe Advices *Flemming* arrived ſecretly at *Warſaw*, and on the ſecond of *May* delivered a Letter from his Maſter, to the Abbot *de Polignac*; by which that Prince would make him believe that he had treated theſe two Months at *Rome* with the Moſt Chriſtian King, by the Mediation of Cardinal *Janſon*; That in all appearance he had Orders from the King, and that he prayed him to confide in the Bearer of his Letter, & to agree with him about all things, as well for the ſatisfaction of the King his Maſter, as for his own particular. *Flemming* delivered alſo a Letter to the Cardinal, who return'd an Anſwer to it, which was as diſagreeable to the Court of *Dreſden*, as that of the Ambaſſador. This Miniſter had anſwerd in very civil terms, that he had no Orders to Treat; that the Affairs of *France* never had better footing in *Poland* than now; that the Report that was ſpread abroad, that he wanted Mony,

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was nothing but an Artifice of the Queen; and that the Prudence of the King his Maſter was too great, to let him want in time of need.

The French Ambaſſador was touched to the quick, to ſee a New Candidate appear; if he had had earlier notice of it, he would have obtained his Excluſion in the petty Diets, but they were over, and the Nobility were flocking from all parts to *Warſaw*, with diſplay'd Colours, to aſſiſt at the *General* Aſſembly. He foreſaw very well that *Przependowski* had cauſed his Advice to be highly eſteemed at *Dreſden*: The little Confidence that *Poland* had in this Senator, perſwaded him that ſome other perſons muſt be concern'd in the ſame Intrigue, and at laſt he diſcovered a Myſtery, which they ſtudied to keep concealed from him.

*Davia* the Pope's *Nuncio* had formerly carried Arms in the *Morea*, in the Service of the *Venetians*: He afterwards turn'd Prieſt, and had been *Inter-Nuncio* at *Bruſſels*, *Nuncio* at *Cologne*, and from thence nominated to the Nunciature of *Poland*. He was Nephew to Marſhal *Caprara*, ſo noted in the Wars of *Hungary*. The Marquis *Davia* his Nephew, was in the Service of his Imperial Majeſty, when he was taken ſome Years ago Priſoner by the Turks. The Infidels, who would not ſet him to *Ranſome*, had confined him to the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers, ſo that 'twas thought he would

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end his days in Slavery. The *Nuncio* being allarm'd with the Captivity of his Nephew, made his Application to the Counteſs *d' Altemonte*, his Siſter-in-law, who was Lady of Honour to the Queen of *England*, who was very willing to pray the King of *France* to Interpoſe his Authority to procure the Liberty of a Gentleman who was under her protection. The King's Ambaſſador at the Port had Orders to Negotiate the Liberty of this Young Lord; the Turks refuſed to treat, and the *Nuncio* made *Poland* to Eccho again with his Complaints, as if that Miniſter had done him an ill Office, becauſe he could not do him a good one. Nevertheleſs the *Nuncio* underſtanding that the Elector of *Saxony* detain'd a Baſſa, who was taken Priſoner at *Temiſwar*, he propoſed to that Prince to exchange him againſt the Young Marquis *Davia*; his Electoral Highneſs conſented thereto, and the Propoſal was made to the Turks, who approved of the ſame; and accordingly put it in execution.

There needed no more to make the *Nuncio* a Friend to the Elector, Enemy to *France*, and ſuſpected by the Ambaſſador of that Crown. That Miniſter went to ſee him in order to diſcover his Sentiments in relation to the Election. The *Nuncio* declared that he would never ſuffer the Crown of *Poland* to fall upon the Head of a Heretical Prince, or whoſe Converſion was ſuſpected: Notwithſtanding his proteſtations, and the ſincerity

ſincerity which he affected to make ſhew of, his Sentiments were known as well as the diſſimulation that is ſo cuſtomary to people of his Country.

While the Miniſters of the ſeveral pretenders to the Crown were carrying on their Intrigues the time of the meeting of the Diets was come. The Primate, according to cuſtom, opened the ſame by a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. There was never ſo great Debates in any Election as in this, about the Choice of a Marſhal. This Officer was to have been choſen out of the Deputies of Great *Poland*, becauſe it was his Rank. The Queen's Faction, and the great General uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make it fall upon *Staroſta Odalanowſki*, Grand-ſon to the Great General, and Son to Count *Leſzchinſki*, Palatine of *Lencicia* and *Staroſt* General of Great *Poland*; but thoſe three Lords were found to be too ill-affected, to give them that ſatisfaction, and the other pretenders agreed in nothing elſe among themſelves, but to exclude them.

They would all have conferred that Honour on Count *Humiecki*, Maſter of the Houſhold of *Podolia*, as well becauſe of his own perſonal Merit, as that of the Palatine of *Kiow* his Uncle, who paſt for the uprighteſt Lord of *Poland*, and one who beſt underſtood the Art of War. *Humiecki*, as I have already told you, had been Director of the Preliminary Diet, and the Law hindred him from being

being continued in this. There were eight others of the French Faction who would not yield their Pretenſions, and the Ambaſſador of that Crown found it more difficult to make them agree among themſelves, than to exclude his Enemies.

Prince *Caſimir Czartoreski* of the Antient Houſe of *Lithuania*, was not of a Conſtitution ſtrong enough to undergo the Fatigues of that troubleſome Imployment, and therefore quitted his pretenſions to it; his Moderation, and the Juſtice he did himſelf, was an example to ſome others.

In effect Count *Branicki*, great Maſter of the Houſhold of the Crown, and Son-in-law to the Palatine of *Vilna*, confeſſed that his ſlowneſs of Speech rendered him leſs fit for that Imploy than another, and that he wiſhed his Friends might reap the benefit of his Miſ-fortune.

*Potaliski*, Staroſt of *Borzekow*; and *Czapski*, Staroſt of *Klek*, had equal Voices in *Pruſſia*; the Emulation of thoſe two Lords was ſo great, that there was no appearance that they would give way to one another. It was therefore repreſented to them, that there was but one Office to fill; that they could not both have it, and that it was their parts to agree between themſelves: But each of them choſe rather to quit his pretenſions, than to yield to his Rival.

The ſame means were us'd in regard to the Count *Sapieha* and *Dzialinski*, the former

mer was great Carver of *Lithuania*; and the latter of the Crown, and Treaſurer of *Pruſſia*; *Sapieha* was jealous of him. They were promiſed that the Maſter of the Houſe of *Lithuania*, their Relation, ſhould be Marſhal of the Diet of the Coronation, if they would deſiſt from their pretenſions this time, to which they agreed. His Competitor, who knew nothing of this Treaty, conſented to do the like, and thought he had gained enough in depriving his Rival of an advantage, which the Credit and Alliance of his Party would hinder him from procuring to himſelf.

There remained only the Counts *Mieſzinski* Staroſt of *Wielun*, and *Bielinski* great Chamberlain of the Crown; the giving over of theſe before, was not favourable to the firſt, who making a Virtue of the weakneſs of his Party, agreed with the other pretenders to that Imploy to give his Vote, and to procure thoſe of his Friends for Count *Bielinski*. The Abbot of *Poligniac*, whom thoſe eight Lords had choſen to be Judge of their Difference, inclined for the laſt; becauſe he had married the Daughter of Count *Morſtein*, formerly great Treaſurer of *Poland*, who in the Year 1683. retired into *France*, where he had made great Purchaſes; beſides that his Lady, who had as much Credit among the Nobility of the two Orders, as power over her Husband's Mind, was entirely devoted to *France*.

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The contrary Party had alſo reſolved that no other Director of the Diet ſhould be choſen than the Son of the Palatine of Sendomir; and the Obſtinacy of both Parties occaſioned the Election to be deferred; while this was in debate, there were ſome Deputies who would examine the Grievances of the Nation againſt the Royal Family, before all things; and the Partizans of the latter demanded that the two Treaſurers ſhould be call'd to an Account. Thus the two Parties by Mutual Accuſations thought of nothing but to ſhift off this Inquiry, and did not trouble themſelves about the Election of the Marſhal.

Others were obſtinately reſolved to convict and puniſh the Authors of the Confederacy of the Armies, and they applied themſelves the more vigorouſly thereto, becauſe every one hoped to be gainers thereby. Towards the end of the Year 1696. a Detachment of the Army which remained faithful, being out upon a Party, returned loaden with Booty, but ſuch as was more conſiderable in effect than in appearance: The Soldiers had ſeized ſome Barrels of Herrings that were a carrying to the Confederates; twenty thouſand Ducats were found in them; ſuch ſorry Fiſh had never ſo good pickle before: Every one was deſirous to know the Author of this Stratagem, ſome to puniſh him, and the moſt part to feel the like effects of his Liberality.

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All thoſe Debates deferred the Choice of the Marſhal; they were obliged to chuſe him by Poll; all the Gentlemen gave their Votes one after another to *Humiecki*, who was appointed to take the ſame, which took up much time. In fine, the French Ambaſſador had the ſatisfaction, that he for whom he concerned himſelf, carried it on the 15th of *June* by many thouſand Voices. *Bielinski* at this rate obtain'd a Dignity, which he was to enjoy a much leſs time than he ſpent in arriving to it.

The Choice of the Marſhal was not the only thing to be terminated, that of a King was of Greater conſequence: The Diet was to laſt but twelve days; the Nobility were impatient of this delay; they began to want proviſions, Money, and Hungarian Wine; and the Summs that the pretenders to the Crown diſtributed among them, did not anſwer the Avarice of thoſe who were only come to ſell their Votes.

The Lords were as much tired as the Gentry becauſe of the great Expence they were obliged to be at, which was ſo exceſſive, that the great Treaſurer of the Crown had defrayed the whole Palatinate of *Ruſſia*, which is compoſed of 12000 Gentlemen, for ſeveral days, and the other Heads of Factions had been no leſs prodigal.

The Election of the Marſhal was a lively repreſentation of that of the King; the two Parties had meaſur'd their ſtrength; that

which was forced to yield, was in a confuſion, and breathed nothing but Revenge, they deſired that the Votes ſhould be caſt up, and this ſmall comfort was granted them. *Odalanowski* was the moſt Intereſted, and ſhame had made him to retire, that he might not be a Witneſs of the ſuperiority of his Enemies, and his own weakneſs. His Partiſans were more conſtant than he; they demanded that the Marſhal Elected, ſhould give out no *Diploma* in caſe of a Diviſion, without the Conſent of the Republick; this had been formerly practiſed in the Election of King *Michael*, wherefore they were willing to follow his example; and tho' it was perceived that they deſigned a double Election, yet this favour was granted them, which in reality ſeem'd to be juſt, but which ought to have been refus'd to people whoſe Invention it was to make ill uſe of it.

They endeavour'd to repair, by this Negotiation, the diſgrace which had hapned to them: *Przependowski* redoubled his efforts to ruine a Faction which he had repreſented to be ſo weak, and remonſtrated that the Elector perform'd his promiſes, while the Miniſter of *France* would do nothing but give fair promiſes. He treated at the ſame time with the contrary Party, and ſought by the ſame Artifices and means to put them out of conceit with Pr. *James* and the other Candidates; and in fine, he flatter'd himſelf that the two Parties would concur with his deſign without know-

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ing it. The Irreſolution of the Palatine of *Vilna* gave him great hopes. In effect, this Lord being blinded by the diſcourſes of the Caſtellan of *Culm*, complain'd in the Council held on the 16th of *June* at the Cardinals, that the promiſes of *France* were not put in execution, that the Prince was at too great a diſtance, and that the Sums for paying of the Army, were not yet arrived. The Miniſters of that Crown refuted his diſcourſe with ſo much vigour, that he was forced to ſubmit, and to promiſe by a new Oath which the Cardinal took firſt, and the reſt afterwards, never to chuſe another King than the Pr. of *Conti*. And as they ſtill hop'd that the remittances would arrive at *Dantzick* by the time of the Election, and that they doubted not but that *France* would remove this Obſtacle, they reſolv'd to remove the other, and to ſign and diſpatch the Letters, which they had already wrote, to the Prince of *Conti*, to haſten his departure, of which they had ſuſpended the ſigning only in expectation of the Remittances.

The 17th of *June*, and the two following days were employ'd in Intrigues, and ſecret Negotiations by the Miniſters of the ſeveral pretenders to the Crown, and the ſame days were ſpent in Debates in the Diet. The *Enemies* of the Royal Family ſpoke a ſecond time of Accuſations, and Recoveries againſt the Late Kings Heirs. It was anſwer'd, that they muſt before all things examine the Accounts of the Treaſurers: The diſcuſſion of thoſe two

heads was too long for the little time that remain'd, ſo it was remitted to the Diet for the Coronation, and the parties did not obſtinately inſiſt upon the ſame; every one was willing to defer an *Examination* which could have nothing but troubleſome Conſequences. If they could have been as eaſily appeaſed, as to the reſt, they would not have been irreconcilable, and their *Enmity* would not have prov'd ſo fatal to the Republick.

It is very difficult for thoſe that only deſign miſchief, to be long quiet. The Queens friends revived the Coequation, the Enemies of the houſe of *Sapieha* Joyned with them, and the Nobility of *Lithuania* being Jealous of the fortune and Splendor of that Family, back'd this propoſal. The *Partizans* of *France* would not uphold the *Sapieha's* in this affair, but in ſo far as they ſhould ſee them faithful to the Prince of *Conti*; Nevertheleſs as that might have divided the *Partizans* of the Prince, thoſe who were the moſt addicted to him, referred the deciſion thereof till after the Diet of the Coronation; and it was reſolved to give Audience to the Ambaſſadors after next Morning.

The Popes *Nuncio* was Introduced on the 20th of *June* with the uſual Ceremonies; he exhorted the Nobility to make Choice of a Catholick King, and of one who might be uſeful to the Church and Kingdom. His *Harangue* tho' not long was tireſome; becauſe he who pronounced it had medled too much with

with Intrigues, and had not had the Moderation which he whoſe Miniſter he was recommended to him, in reſpect of the moſt worthy of the pretenders to the Crown.

The Biſhop of *Paſſaw* had been Choſen by his Imperial Majeſty to be his Ambaſſador; he was Son to Count *Lumberg* whom the Emperor had done the honour to Confide in, and likewiſe had a great eſteem for; he had received ſenſible proofs of it in his life time; and his family had received the like after his death. This Prelate arrived at *Vienna* the latter end of *April*, and ſet out the third of *May*, by poſt, to aſſiſt at the Diet; He had received with his Inſtructions Bills of Exchange which he was forced to proteſt upon his Arrival: He knew that without Money buſineſs languiſh'd & had no ſucceſs particularly in *Poland*. He ſent back to *Vienna* for a ſupply; that Court was not Ignorant of the Neceſſity there was of Satisfying his demand: In the Mean time the report was ſpread abroad that that Miniſter had no money. He neglected to give out that he had remedied that misfortune, and the want of this precaution might perhaps be partly the cauſe of the diſgrace that happen'd to him.

He ſet out from *Vienna* with a ſmall train, and Decency obliged him to have a retinue worthy of him whoſe perſon he repreſented; he gathered together Several *Germans* he had found at *Warſaw*, who ſerv'd him in ſtead of a life guard when the Marſhal of the

the Diet came to Conduct him to the Aſſembly. That Officer perceived that the guards of this Miniſter carryed their drawn Swords about him with their points up; he threatned to Cut them in pieces if they continued their March in this Ceremony, and he being the ſtrongeſt they were forc'd to obey.

The great Secretary of the Crown received from the hands of this Prelate, the Emperors Letter: As that Officer carryed it to the Primate he ſaw that the Direction was *inclytæ Reipublicæ*. This was thought to proceed from pride, and the opinion was grounded, upon that the Emperor *Maximilian*, being Competitor with *Battori* for the Crown, affected the ſame ſtile, and that his Letter had then met with a bad reception. The Ambaſſador who had not foreſeen this difficulty, demanded leave to excuſe it in a full Diet. On the 21ſt he was permitted to do it on condition that he would add the word *Sereniſſimæ* with his own hand, and promiſe that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould Agree to it; he excuſed it, by reaſon he was not permitted to alter any thing of the ſtile of the Chancery, and ſo his Letter was not received.

Theſe Mortifications were but a *Preludium* of thoſe that were to happen to him that ſame day. Thoſe of this Retinue had placed themſelves about him, which hindered him from being ſeen, wherefore a ſign was made for them to retire, upon which they proſtrated themſelves upon the Ground and

and put themſelves into the poſture of Malefactors who expected to receive the fatal blow. The Ambaſſador began his diſcourſe, which he read upon his paper, and recommended Prince *James Sobieski* as a fit perſon for the Crown. He was interrupted ſeveral times during his harangue becauſe he made uſe of the terms of *Vos*, inſtead of thoſe Terms of honour, which ought to be uſed when one Speaks to a free and Crown d Republick; As he continued to read the ſame way, and did not change his Expreſſions, the *Poles* ceas'd not to reproach him; this ſo inraged him that he was ſeized with a bleeding at the Noſe, which together with the Clamours of the People, hindered him from going on, and deliver d him a little ſooner out of that great perplexity.

The Ambaſſador of *France* was to ſpeak the Next day which was the 22th. The oppoſit function prepared to Interrupt him and to revenge themſelves of what had happen'd the Night before. They knew that Miniſter to be a man who would not have ſuffered this affront tamely; he had Notice of it, and that *Jablonowski* great Enſigne of the Crown and Son to the *Caſtellan* of *Cracow* had ſaid to Prince *Lubomirſki Staroſt* of *Olſztin*; You have Inſulted our Ambaſſador, to Morrow we ſhall have Satifaction upon yours. This and ſome other particular reaſons made the Abbot *de Polignac* think

think that it was not proper to Venture himſelf; But he Printed his propoſals and Cauſed them to be diſtributed throughout every *Palatinat*, ſigned with his own hand and ſealed with his Coat of Arms. This precaution had all the Effect he could expect from his harangue.

The 23d which was Sunday and the 24th being St. *Johns* day were ſpent in private Negotiations. The Complement that was paſſed upon the *French* Ambaſſador the 23d was enough to puzzle an Able Man. The Biſhop of *Ploſko Dzialinski* and *Wapowſki* came to wait upon him, ſaying, that his Friends would do nothing without firſt acquainting him with it; That they prayed him to have regard to the misfortunes wherewith all *Poland* was threatned, that the Diviſion that was foreſeen was Inevitable, ſince he could not give orders for the eſſential ſuccours which alone were Capable either to hinder or to extinguiſh it; that a medium was found out which would ſettle the Quiet of the Republick, ſecure the honour of *France*, and be no prejudice to his Excellency. This Expedient was to Conſent to the Choice of the Elector of *Saxony*; whom they would oblige to reſtore to the moſt Chriſtian King, the Money which he had expended, and that the ſaid Prince would do for the Ambaſſador all that the Acknowledgements of a Prince, who ſhould owe the Crown to him, could require.

the Abbot of *Polignac* had been acquainted with the deſign over Night, by Count *Wladiſlas Priemski*, Caſtelan of *Kaliſh*, the trueſt Friend he had; and withal the braveſt Man in *Poland*. He was a Man that temper'd his Courage with matchleſs Prudence, and knew how to turn the Croſſeſt Accident to his own Advantage. Every one wonder'd that ſuch contrary Vertues ſhould agree to lodge in one Breaſt; and indeed 'twas a hard matter to determine whether his Conduct in Peace or War was his greateſt Excellency.

The Ambaſſador and he had agreed upon what they were to ſay; and in order to diſcourſe the Deputies upon the Reſolutions they had taken, the former appear'd among 'em in the Council, where he repreſented to them that 'twas their intereſt to prevent the Election of the Duke of *Saxony*; that he believ'd the Nation was too jealous of their Liberties, to deliver themſelves up to the *Germans*, whom they had always rejected upon ſuch occaſions; and ſhould that Elector compaſs his deſign, that the Catholick Religion and their Liberties would be equally in danger. He remonſtrated to them, what a ſhame it was for the *Poles*, at a time when their Senate conſiſted only of Popiſh Members, to ſuffer their Crown to ſit on a Lutheran Prince's Head. He added, that he knew not how *Poland* could anſwer the juſt reflections of the Holy See, which would

never grant King *Casimir* a Title to Orthodoxy, till he had expell'd the Hereticks out of the Senate, and several parts of the Kingdom.

Having thus charg'd them with weakness, he came at length to threats; and told them, that, without dependance upon them, he had a Body of Nobility to stand by him; and if after all, his Candidate could not mount the Throne, that his Party would at least be strong enough to fortifie Prince *James's*, which he was going to joyn, and hop'd the Cardinal and other Lords would follow his Example.

'Tis certain the Ambassador had some ground for what he said: For the *Cardinal*, and the Houses of *Sapieha*, and *Lubominski*, were sure of fourteen or fifteen Palatinates. Besides, this Minister had by some other intriegues sever'd those of *Prussia*, *Plosko*, *Novogred*, and a part of *Sandomiers*. And at the same time Count *Priemski* was Master of those of *Posen* and *Kalish*. Accordingly the sequel gave them to know that the Ambassador was able to put his Threats in Execution, and that the *French* faction which was given out to be so low, was a third part stronger than they imagin'd.

Nearness to danger gives courage to encounter it. The Threats of the Ambassador, and the fear of falling under the Government of the Queen, confirmed them in their first sentiments; and accordingly they promised

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a proper time to act honourably in the matter, and without any further failure. There was only *Krzisztpin* Palatin of *Witeps*, and *Morstin* Castellan of *Czerske* who were engag'd by the Castelan of *Culm*, by a bribe of two thousand Crowns given them, upon Promise and Oath: But the other Lords were asham'd of their perfidiousness, and declared openly that the baseness of two men whose quality was disputed, ought not to reflect upon the true Nobility of *Poland*, that abhorr'd their Treachery.

From the time of the Election of the Mareshal, *Przependouski* had flattered himself with hopes of improving his Interest by the Inconstancy of the Palatin of *Kilna*, thinking that others might follow his Example. But he was out in his measures upon that score, though he succeeded well in another Project. The Queen had conveyed her two Millions to *France*, and was glad they were not returned to *Poland*. She had laid out Thirty Thousand Crowns, to no purpose, upon the Election of a Mareshal; and that by that and other prodigal measures had quite exhausted her Treasures, and was galled to see the *French* faction rise upon the ruines of hers', without expending such large sums. Prince *James* had spent all his Money, and the Heads of his Party threatened to abandon him, if he did not find some before the Election. His last shift was to make his address to the Bishop of *Posnan*. Accordingly

ingly he sent the Bishop of *Cujavia*, the Castelan of *Cracow*, and Palatin of *Brestaw* to ask some Money of him, which the Promises and Protection of the Emperor had given him Ground to hope for. That Bishop had an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Crowns by him besides Jewels; but thought it scarce worth the while to revive a party that was already so far gone: He told them, in that juncture of Affairs, 'twas indifferent to his Imperial Majesty, whether they chose Prince *James* or any other Candidate, providing they kept out the Prince of *Conti*: That the only effectual way to prevent that Prince's being Elected was to make the best advantage of his Distance, the difficulty of his Passage, and the scarcity of *French* Money in *Poland*; that 'twas their business to examine which of the Candidates was best able to make his pretensions good, and endeavour to support him; unless they had a mind to sink under the Triumphs of the Cardinal and the Families of *Sapieha* and *Lubomirski*, and their other declared Enemies; and that for his part, both his Money and his Credit should be at the Service of him that could make the strongest faction.

They ran over all the Candidates of the House of *Austria*. The Duke of *Lorrain* was at *Olmutz* with the Queen *Eleonor* his Mother. The Duke of *Neubourg* was at *Breslaw* in *Silesia*. Both of them knew the importance of their Neighbourhood; but to what pur-

pose

could Princes ſtir, that are at once deſtitute of Money and Troops? The Elector of *Saxony* was likewiſe in *Sileſia* at the head of his Troops, ready to enter the Kingdom; His pretended abjuration was then publick, and believ'd by all thoſe whom *Przependouski*'s Credit, or that Prince's Intereſt could prevail with: His Money was in readineſs, and thoſe who could not ſatisfie their avarice with three Millions from the Queen and Prince *James*, might be gained by his Twelve; and beſides, he had an Army able to repair the weakneſſes of their Party. Upon this conſideration they reſolved to declare for him, and told Prince *James* he muſt lay down three hundred thouſand Crowns, ready Money, or elſe expect no ſervice from them. Prince *James* reply'd, 'twas to no purpoſe to take Money of him, after they had taken all from him; that ſince he was ſo unhappy as to be abandoned by thoſe whom he took for his Friends, he renounced his Pretenſions, and intreated them to employ all their Intereſt for his Brother in Law the Prince of *Nieuburg*; that by ſo doing they would ſerve him under his misfortune, and perhaps ingage the compaſſion of the Emperor and Empreſs in his behalf. But theſe good Friends minded but little a recommendation that was not accompanied with liberality.

The *24th* in the Morning, the Heads of the Party met in Council, to conſult what Faction they ſhould join themſelves to. *Po-*

*toski* Palatin of *Cracow* and little Crown-General, had no inclination for the Duke of *Saxony*; but would have preferr'd the Duke of *Lorrain*, if he had had Money to give him. He gave the Cardinal and *French* Ambaſſador to know, that if they would conſign ſixty thouſand Crowns, and give him the half on't by way of advance, he would deliver up himſelf and his whole faction to them. But they had not Money enough to buy him, and ſo loſt the opportunity. In fine, he ſold himſelf to *Saxony*, more out of Avarice than Affection. *Jablonowski* Crown General, *Joſeph Sluska* Caſtelan of *Vilna* and little-General of *Lithuania*, the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, the Vice Chancellor *Tarlow*, and ſeveral others follow'd their Example. The Palatin of *Lencicia* was not among them. He expected his Son ſhould have been made Mareſhal of the Diet; and being diſappointed fell into a Fever that rendred him ſenſleſs, till a few days after the Election.

*Borouski* Caſtelan of *Dantzick*, gave the *French* Ambaſſador Intelligence of the Reſolutions of that Aſſembly: And the Ambaſſador preſently acquainted his own Faction with it. His Faction was compoſed of two ſorts of Men, that ſeemed equally to favour the Prince of *Conti*: the one had a Perſonal reſpect for him; the other acted with no other view but to exclude Prince *James* and the Royal Family. Prince *James*'s Renunciation made them look more indifferently upon

all

Competitors, ſo that in two or three Nominations, they gave in *Conti* in the firſt place, and the Duke of *Saxony* in the next. 'Tis true thoſe who did ſo, were afterwards troubled about it; but 'twas in vain to repent when they had not time to remedy it.

The *French* Miniſters endeavoured to redreſs the fault, though 'twas not committed by them. For that end they drew up three Arguments againſt *Saxony*, which would certainly have caſt him, had they been able to back them with bounty. They objected firſt his Country, which had always been odious to the *Poles*, but his Money anſwered for that: Then they repreſented his ſtrength and power, and indeed 'twas that that ſupported his feeble Pretenſions: And laſtly, they put the *Poles* in mind of his Religion, which was the ſtrongeſt Motive of all. To obviate this Objection, that Prince's Favourites had ſpread a report that he had been converted to the Romiſh Faith two years before: But that was looked upon as fabulous. So they were forced to look out for ſome better evidence; and accordingly met with a Prelate that was not very ſcrupulous in ſerving them.

*Chriſtian Auguſtus* of *Saxezeitz*, a Kinſman of the Elector's, had formerly been of the Lutheran Communion: Upon what motives he departed from it, we ſhall not enquire. His Preferment he owed to the Emperor, who in the Month of *April*, 1696. removed him from *Cologne*, where he had been

Canon and Grand Provoſt, and put him in poſſeſſion of the rich Biſhoprick of *Raab* in *Hungary*: And upon the Emperor's recommendation his Holineſs's Bull was obtained *Gratis*. This New Prelate being willing to ſerve his his Family, and withal to give proof of his grattude his to Benefactor, did yield to their importunity in ſigning an Atteſtation, that on the ſecond of *June*, being *Trinity Day*, the Elector of *Saxony* had made an Abjuration at *Vienna* before him. General *Fleming* ſhewed the Certificate to every one, but could convince none. They credited this Atteſtation, no more than the report of his Abjuration at *Rome* two years before; becauſe neither the Church nor Witneſſes were mentioned, and they would not take a Lutheran's Abjuration upon a Calviniſt's word. Beſides, the Duke had been obſerv'd to follow the Lutheran Communion ſince that time; and thoſe who were convinced of the matter of Fact, could not excuſe ſuch a ſinful relapſe; nay the moſt judicious looked upon the action as a Crime that Politicks might diſguiſe, but Repentance alone could expiate.

The Abbot of *Polignac* and his Collegue improved theſe Reaſons to that advantage, that the more reaſonable ſort of People were guarded againſt all ſurprizes upon that Head. They repreſented the whole as an Artifice to procure a Rupture; and told them his Favourers furniſhed themſelves with thoſe pretexts, in order to get an Army into the King-

Kingdom to attack their Laws and Publick Liberty. Theſe Reflections had a great influence upon the Body of the People; but thoſe who had ſold themſelves to the *Saxons* did not trouble themſelves, having reſolved to ſacrifice their Liberties, Religion and Country to ſordid Avarice.

The 26*th* of *June* all the Palatinates aſſembled. That Day was appointed for adjuſting the preliminaries, for the Election was to be determined as next Day. All the Gentry being in number above a Hundred Thouſand, appeared in the Fields of *Warſaw*; every Palatinate under their own Standard, divided into Companies, the biggeſt containing eight or nine Hundred Men, and the leaſt two Hundred. They were all on Horſeback, excepting a few on Foot, that followed the Cavalry, and were drawn up behind them. Theſe were the poorer ſort of Gentry which could not go to the charge of a Horſe; they were armed with Scythes, without Sabres, and appeared as formidable as the others, and had an equal right to Vote.

Each Senator made Harangues to his own Palatinate, in order to recommend his own deſigns, and direct them in the Election. The Biſhop of *Plosko* had no ſooner made an end of his harangue, but the Palatinate of the ſame Name cried *long live Conti*; and drew their Sabres. This univerſal acclamation did at once encourage the *French*, and mortifie the oppoſite Faction.

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The Palatinates of *Siradia* and *Revia* followed the Example of *Plosko*; and the three from *Pruſſia* did the ſame. Nay the Election was almoſt anticipated through the impatience of the Noblility to be under a Soveraign that ſeemed only capable to reſtore the Kingdom to its ancient Splendor.

*Przependouski* obſerving the fury of the *Pruſſians* endeavoured to put a ſtop to it, in telling them the Duke of *Saxony* was as good for them as the Prince of *Conti*: Whereupon *Czapski*, Chamberlain of *Mariembourg* replyed, *Why Traitor, is this thy Oath?* And at the ſame time ſhot a Piſtol at him, which would have killed him had, not a Prieſt put it by with his Cane. Though 'twas an act of Charity that merited approbation, yet it drew more Curſes than Thanks upon the Prieſt.

Others were ſtunn'd with their forwardneſs, and apprehenſive of a ſurprize; and to put a ſtop to the Career proteſted againſt the Cardinal, the Biſhop of *Plosko*, the Palatin of *Culum*, the *Lubomirski*'s, *Sapieha*'s, and *Radgivil*, as having concerted a diſorderly Election, in oppoſition to the Laws, which require that the Candidates ſhould be firſt propoſed. They on the other hand, out of tenderneſs to ſome of their Party, yielded to the Legal form, and ſo loſt the opportunity of compaſſing their deſigns, that was now a ſecond time thrown into their Lap.

Had they kept up to the ardor of the Palatinates, the Duke of *Saxony* had been buri-

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ed in Oblivion: For the greater part of the Gentry, had never heard of any other Candidates beſide the Prince of *Conti* and *James Sobieski*, and were intirely engaged to the former, without dreaming of any other pretenſions. But Law prevailed, and ſtifled their Acclamations; the Deciſion being put off till the next Day.

Both the Miniſters of *France* and their Adverſaries were equally in ſuſpence, and run buſily about all that Day and the ſucceeding Night. The one entertained the Gentry with the Story of the Elector's Converſion, which they would fain have paſſed for a truth: The other endeavoured by all means to convince them of its falſity. Both of them made their Addreſs to the Pope's Nuncio, who found himſelf in a quandary; but to ſatisfie both Parties, promiſed the one he would confirm the Biſhop of *Raab*'s Certificate with his own Atteſtation, and at the ſame time aſſured the other he would not do it; perhaps for a ſalvo to his word, he meant he would not do it next day.

On the *26th* they aſſembled early in the Morning in St. *John*'s Church, where the Cardinal Primate ſaid Maſs, and the Biſhop of *Plosko* made a Sermon, in which he compared himſelf to the Prophet *Samuel*, that demanded of God a King, not like *Saul*, but ſuch a one as *David* was: And interlaced his Diſcourſe with ingenious little hints, that gave his Audience to know where his wiſhes

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and hopes were pointed. After Sermon the numerous Assembly marched in order to the place of Election: And the Senators being placed in the *Kolo*, the Cardinal Primate made an Eloquent Speech upon the due qualifications of a new King, and then Named the Candidates; giving every one a Panegyrick, either upon his Personal Qualities, or those of his Family. When he came to mention the Duke of *Saxony*, who was the last in Order, he declared that in Honour they could not forget him, but he was not fit to be chosen becaus he professed Lutheranism, and no Body was sure of his Conversion, though the Publick was imposed upon with insufficient Proof. Then the Elector was nam'd openly in the Ranks, which surprised even those who were best acquainted with the Laws of the Kingdom: However his Party was so weak, that the terror was not equal to the surprizal.

The Cardinal having made an end of his Harangue, kneeled on the Ground of his own accord, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, declared he would never Nominate a King without their unanimous consent, provided they did not insist on one uncapable to be Chosen. After the Primate's Oath, all the Senators, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, Mounted their Horses, and repaired to their respective Palatinates. But this being contrary to the Custom, those who assisted at the Election of King *Michael*, told them that

that when the Gentry was divided between the Prince of *Neuburg* and Prince of *Lorrain*, they drew upon the Senators. This Advice obliged them to alter their Reſolutions, and accordingly they returned, partly out of regard to the Laws, and partly for the ſecurity of their Perſons. In the mean time the Cardinal and the Director of the Diet, remained by themſelves the in *Kolo*, ſtanding oppoſite to one another, in order to receive the advices which came very frequently, and to give them neceſſary Orders.

The Caſtelan and Palatine of *Cracow* made their laſt efforts to ſerve Prince *James*, in ſoliciting the Palatinate of *Cracow*, which by right ſpeaketh firſt, and that of *Poſen* that ſpeaks next, to cry, *Long live* James *the Son of the King*: Three Companies of *Cracow* obeyed them; and one of *Poſen* did the ſame, but very faintly: The other three of the former, and five of the latter cryed, *Long Live Conti*; and that with ſo loud an acclamation that his Name was heard all over the Field. *Vilna*, which Votes in the third place, was intirely for him; and all the others followed their Example till it came to *Samogitia*'s turn, which comes in after the firſt eight Palatinates; two Companies of this Province had been retained by the *Kraiſzpins* whom I mentioned above, and accordingly declared for the Duke of *Saxony*. His Name was ſo odious to thoſe who ſtood for *Conti*, that they ſpoke of nothing leſs than putting thoſe

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to the Sword, that propoſed a Lutheran. But his new promoters, gave them freſh aſſurances that he was a good Catholick, and had abjured the Lutheran Profeſſion at *Rome* in the preſence of the Pope himſelf; and becauſe the Gentry would not take their words for it, told them the Nuncio would atteſt it in his Holineſs's Name. Some credited the Story, eſpecially ſome poor Gentlemen that *Przependouski* had regal'd with Brandy, and given them a Crown a Man. Others believed the nomination of *Saxony* was only a blind to advance Prince *James*'s Party, which ſunk ſo quickly under his own name.

This conjecture was grounded on a certain misfortune that happened in the Palatinate of *Plosko*, where a Gentleman devoted to the Royal Family had the Generoſity to check them when they repeated *Conti*'s Name, with as much ardor as they had done the preceding Day; and having propoſed Prince *James*, was preparing to give in ſome Remonſtrances, when another Gentleman ſtopped him, and killed him with a Piſtol ſhot. But the inhumanity of the action had not ſo much influence upon the Gentry, as to procure an avenger.

All Prince *James*'s hopes were buried with this imprudent and misfortunate Friend. The Palatine of *Plosko* had abſented himſelf from the meeting, either out of fear of the like diſgrace, or in order to avoid the affront he had received in the Particular Diet of his Pa-

Palatinate; where, after he had incouraged the Gentry to declare againſt *France*, he was ſo univerſally forſaken, that he had not one to back him. Or perhaps the Intrigues of the oppoſite Party had made him abſent himſelf; for the Miniſters of *France* had ſo much Intereſt with the Gentry, as to get thoſe they ſuſpected turned out of all places of command, and others of their own Faction put in their Poſts.

While the Palatinates were Voting, they gave notice to the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, that 'twas abſolutely neceſſary to have the Nuncio's Atteſtation to back the Biſhop of *Raab*'s, which no body credited, after *Conti*'s Party had expoſed it for an impoſture. The *Nuncio* was gone to viſit the Princeſs *Lubomirski* the Grand Marſhall's Lady at her Caſtle *Viaſdow*, about a quarter of a League from *Warſaw*. The Emperor's Ambaſſador finding it neceſſary to ſpeak with the *Nuncio*, went ſtraight thither, and told him that if he did not immediately give the Atteſtation they had demanded over Night, and now ſolicited for more than ever, he muſt expect to ſee Prince *Conti* choſen with an unanimous conſent. The Nuncio ſtaggered no longer; but wrote under the Biſhop's Certificate that he knew the ſubſcription to be his, and added a Panegyrick upon the Biſhop, blended with another upon the Prince, and a great deal of impertinent ſtuff: So that upon the whole 'twas rather a Commentary than a legal Confirmation. *Prze-*

*Przependowski* return'd about eleven a Clock in the Morning with this Paper, and a guard of his Friends to secure him from the Chamberlain of *Muriembourg* that had threatned him the Day before. When he arrived in the Electoral Camp, he held up the Paper in his hand, and made those about him cry out with a loud voice, that the Pope's Nuncio had declared to the meeting that the Elector of *Saxony* was a good Catholick, and that his Holiness required the Crown should be given him. Those who fancied *Saxony*'s Name was made use of to favour Prince *James*, took all this for an Illusion; and looked upon the proposal of *Saxony* as a Monster that must perish when it comes into the World, and be stifled by those that gave it a being.

The fuller sort of the Gentry, together with those that were hired to Authorise the Fable, were by this means engaged on his side, and about Noon made a Party bigger than that of *Nieuborg*, *Lorrain* or *Baden*, but much inferiour to *Conti*'s. The Confusion of Voices, and the noise of Arms, caused so great a disorder that 'twas impossible to gather the Votes. To appease the Tumult the Cardinal proposed that *Conti*'s party should go off to one side, and those of the other Candidates to draw themselves up on the other. In a minute his Advice was put in execution, and so great a number of Companies passed to the Right of *Schopa* to appear for *Conti*, that his Enemies thought the whole

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Meeting was filing off to that ſide. However they redoubled their efforts to form a Body upon the left hand, which did not amount that Day to above 36 Companies for all the four Candidates; whereas, *Conti*'s Party by it ſelf had at leaſt two hundred and fourteen.

Thoſe who favoured *France* ſent expreſſes almoſt every minute to acquaint the *French* Miniſter what a great number of Palatinates was on their ſide. As they paſſed along to the Right, one came and told them of twelve, another of fifteen, and ſo on till they came to nine and twenty. The *Nuncio* himſelf, when he ſaw five and twenty of them declare for *Conti*, though he was ſorry for it, yet he ſent his Secretary to congratulate the Miniſters. They finding every thing ſo favourable ſollicited the Cardinal and the other Heads, by repeated Meſſages to improve the Advantage that fortune had offered, and to nominate the Prince of *Conti* that day, without putting it off till the next.

Indeed the occaſion of nominating was very inviting, when all the Palatinates were ranged in two Battallions, and *Conti*'s Line was ſo long, and the other ſo ſhort; that the one was animated with freſh Courage, and the other ſeized with fear: Nay, the Great Treaſurer of the Crown and the Caſtelan of *Kaliſh*, deſigning not to loſe the advantage they had got, exhorted all the Gen-

try to prepare to fight. The Caſtelan, being mounted on his Charging Horſe, appeared at the Head of the Palatinates of *Poſen* and *Kaliſh*, with a Crucifix in one hand, and a drawn Sabre in the other, without any other harangue, but the warlike ſhout, *For God, Conti and our Liberties.* The Biſhops of *Cujavia*, *Poſen*, and *Livonia*, who were on the *Saxon* ſide, did not doubt but they would come to an engagement, and that their Party would be cut to pieces. Being under this apprehenſion, they took Horſe and fled to *Warſaw*, and ſhut themſelves up in St. *John*'s Cloiſter. At this time there was no Diviſion to be feared, if the Primate had nominated *Conti*; for theſe three Prelates being gone, there was no body behind to nominate another.

But the Primate was Maſter of more Probity than Courage: He had a mind to ſpare the *Poliſh* Blood, and to ſtand to the Oath he had made. Being poſſeſſed with ſuch ſcrupu- Reflections, he liſtened to the entreaties of the Generals, who begged the Election ſhould be put off till next day: Though the fourteen Companies of *Sandomiers* and *Mazovia*, who were the better part of the oppoſite Party, had promiſed to abandon that ſide ſo ſoon as the Darkneſs of the Night ſhould give them an opportunity to get off: Though all the Companies of the twenty Nine Palatinates that ſtood for *Conti*, were already drawn up, and the Cardinal was juſt giving

giving them the Benediction, in order to proceed immediately to the Nomination, when that fatal propoſal of delay was handed about; yet he preſently agreed to it, without acquainting the Palatinates who would never have ſuffered it; and inſtead of making an end of what he was about, told them the Night approached, that the Election of a King was not a work of Darkneſs, and that the next Day it ſhould be determined.

Several entreated him to gather the Votes without delay, which is always dangerous in ſuch junctures: They remonſtrated to him, that the oppoſite Party had not above 36 Companies, and thoſe were divided among four Competitors; that by this delay he furniſhed them with an opportunity of uniting, and conſpiring to ſupport the Intereſt of ſome one that they might find ſtrongeſt, or capable to diſtribute moſt Money; and that 'twas not at all prudential to give them time to join in a new Faction. Had the Primate followed this advice, *Conti* had been King, and *Poland*'s Diviſions had been prevented. But ſuch was their fatal misfortune, that he depended upon the hopes of ſeeing all the Factions reunited, and a King nominated with an unanimous conſent. To ſatisfie the Intreaties of the one, and the Importunities of the the other, he endeavoured to find out a medium betwixt them. This was the fatal Temper, which never almoſt meets with ſucceſs, and is only carreſs'd by thoſe who are Ene-

mies to all Reſolution. The Accommodation he made was, that both Parties ſhould keep the Field all that night upon Horeſeback, and no Man ſhould quit his Poſt. This they jointly agreed to, and he himſelf ſpent the Night in his Coach.

This Interval of time gave occaſion for new Intrigues. *Przependouski* came privately to *Warſaw* to the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*'s Houſe, where the Envoy's of the Electors of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and *Brandeburg*; the Dukes of *Nieubourg* and *Lorrain*, and the Reſident of *Venice* were all preſent, *Montecatini* Agent to *Dom Livio Odeſcalchi* was not called thither; and perhaps if he had preſented himſelf he ſhould not have got acceſs, becauſe his Money was gone. For he had but juſt diſtributed ſix or ſeven thouſand Livres (which was all he had left) to ſome Gentlemen, who to the number of fifteen or twenty had nominated *Odeſcalchi* King of *Poland*; and ſounded up his Name more effectually than all the large offers he had publiſhed, notwithſtanding that they were greater than any other, and ſet off under the Title of his moſt Serene Highneſs. But all their efforts ſerved only to revive the raillery I mentioned above.

All theſe Miniſters met at the *Nuncio*'s Houſe, and concluded, that ſince they had ſo much time given them, they muſt improve it to the beſt advantage, and not only throw up all their different Pretenſions to the Duke

Duke of *Saxony*, who was the ſtrongeſt, but likewiſe aſſiſt him with Money. The Baron *Overbeck* Envoy from the Duke of *Brandenbourg*, gave the two hundred thouſand Crowns that were deſigned for the Prince of *Baden*'s uſe; the Biſhop of *Paſſaw* gave a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns, and the others advanced according to their Proportions; nay even the *Venetian* Reſident ſignalized his good will at the Queen's coſt to the ſum of thirty thouſand Crowns, which ſhe had put into his hands, in order to aſſiſt Prince *James* in his neceſſity. All theſe Contributions, together with the Money Monſieur *Flemming* had by him, and what the *Jews* advanced upon his Bills of Exchange to *Dreſden*, *Leipſic*, and *Breſlaw*; made in all a ſum of eighteen hundred Thouſand Livers, which they reckoned to diſtribute among the two Parties. With this they ranged all the Night long up and down the Electoral Camp; and indeed they found that method a more effectual perſuaſive, than all the Eloquence of the Generals that had been imployed to that effect to no purpoſe.

However the ſucceſs did not anſwer expectation. 'Tis true they united and ingaged for *Saxony* moſt of the thirty ſix Companies that had been divided betwixt *Nieuborg*, *Lorrain* and *Baden*: But this they looked upon as a ſmall Conqueſt; for they could not inveigle above eleven of *Conti*'s Companies, and in lieu of them they loſt ſeven of their

own: So that all that vaſt huge ſum purchaſed more than four Companies, increaſing their number from thirty ſix to forty. Finding this ſorry progreſs would not anſwer, they carried their Negotiations yet further.

The three Generals *Jablonouski*, *Potoski*, and *Sluska* addreſſed themſelves to *Sapieha* Grand General of *Lithuania*, whom they knew to be a Man of no Reſolution; and made uſe of ſome Reaſons, which he had often alledged himſelf at the Cardinal's Houſe, thinking thereby to win him over to their ſide. He was afraid leſt they, being the Queen's Ancient Friends, ſhould carry on Prince *James*'s Intereſt; but they aſſured him they were ſo far from entertaining any ſuch thought, that they had jointly reſolved to put up *Saxony*, if the Cardinal inſiſted upon *Conti*. *Sapieha* was ſtill miſtruſtful, and would fix upon no Concluſion. So at laſt they forbore to ſollicit a Man that had not the power to determine his own thoughts.

The 27*th* at two a Clock in the Morning *Przependouski* and *Flemming* came to the Abbot of *Polignac*, and told him they had brought things to bear that Night, that their Faction was very Rich, and ſtrongly reinforced; and that he had yet time to accept of the advantageous offers that were formerly made him. That Miniſter, for anſwer, accuſed the former of Treachery, and the latter for not keeping his Word: He put him in mind that on the 2*d* of *May*, as he delive-

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red him a Letter from his Maſter, he aſſured him that the Elector would claim no pretenſions to the Crown, without the Countenance of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Failure of the Prince of *Conti*; and that contrary to that promiſe, the Elector of *Saxony* was the only obſtacle that ſtood in the way of *Conti*'s unanimous Election. So they parted without concluding upon any thing.

The *French* Ambaſſador had galled them more without Money, than they could him with all their Sums. They had ſtopped his Couriers, and his Bills of Exchange were not arrived. The Queen had ſo much intereſt at *Dantzick* as to prevent the payment of the ſix hundred thouſand Livres; and without Money 'twas a hard matter for him to win the Biſhops and three Generals that ſtood by the oppoſite Faction. But his Prudence ſupplied the want of Money, and his Carriage to the Lords of his Party was ſo engaging, that not one of them forſook him. And the number of his Party was much augmented by the reſpect he ſhewed to the ſecond Rank of Gentry; of whom he entertained ſix at his Table, every Day, from the beginning of the Diet. The *Poles* themſelves owned that this cautious conduct had gained him whole Palatinates: But the Queen's eternal complaints of his Conduct, and her open Averſion to his Perſon, procured him yet more.

In the Morning the Cardinal began to repent that he had not determined the Election the Day before. The oppoſite Party was not ſo ſenſible of his complaiſance in delaying as he expected: On the contrary, the Heads ſpent the time upon new intrigues, and no body thought of an Union. Beſides, they complained of his Conduct the preceding Day. He had gone through all the Palatinates of his own ſide to require their Votes, and exhort them to conſtancy. But omitted to do the like honour to the oppoſite Faction. This they reſented, and would have perſuaded the World that the Primate's ſlighting carriage was the occaſion of their declaring for *Saxony*. The Primate had declined going among them, by reaſon of ſome advice ſent him, that if he appeared at their Head the followers of the Caſtelan of *Cracow* would aſſaſſinate him: I know not whether they truly deſigned ſo, or had only ſpread that report to ſcare the Prelate from coming to make ſuch Remonſtrances as might take off any of their thirty ſix Companies. However this put both Parties in ſuch a ferment, that the Primate declared he would not conſent to any Accommodation.

At the ſame time the Rupture was reſolv'd upon by the oppoſite Faction; only they were galled with one difficulty, *viz.* They had only four Prelates in their whole Diviſion, for the Biſhop of *Samogitia* was not preſent at the Diet, and thoſe of *Cujavia*, *Poſen*, and *Livo-*

*Livonia* could not ſhake off the terror which the Caſtelan of *Kaliſh* had put them into over Night. The laſt of the three was very ſcrupulous of medling with what belonged to the Primate; and loth to give his Brethren an ill example, though he was not unwilling to follow theirs. As for the Biſhop of *Cujavia* there was no hopes of bringing him back, after what had paſſed. And *Staniſlas Witwicki* Biſhop of *Poſen*, declared he had buſineſs enough of his own upon his hands, without ingaging in more. He called to mind the Judgment given in againſt him by the Pope's *Nuncio*, which branded him with a diſhonourable Character. I ſhall not mention it here, becauſe I would ſpare the memory of the dead, and am unwilling to ſully his Character.

In order to put an end to the Election betimes, the Heads of both Parties began to review them. They perceived the three Generals had brought their Guards and Domeſtick Servants into the Field, to enlarge the bulk of their Troops, and murmured a little, but without any conſequence. But the Primate was much more ſurpriſed, when he perceived, that of the fourteen Companies he expected to join with him, there came but ſeven; that the Palatinate of *Volhinia*, the Diſtrict of *Wielun*, and ſome Companies of the *Lithuanians*, had marched out of their Ranks, and poſted themſelves between the two Battallia's, for a ſign of Neutrality, and that

that the Palatin of *Vilna* appeared at their head, though his whole Family continued at their firſt Poſt. Immediately he diſpatched an Expreſs to know the reaſon of that motion. The Palatin anſwered he had ſet himſelf there as Umpire between the two oppoſite Parties, and reckoned his Example might ſway thoſe who ſtood out. They fanſied he himſelf had a mind to put in for a third between the two Candidates: And the Great Treaſurer his Brother, his Children, his whole Family, the better ſort of Lords, the Mareſhal of the Diet, the Biſhops and the Primate himſelf intreated him not to put ſuch a ſcandal upon their own, and incourage the oppoſite Faction. He put them off with ſome of his old Reaſons, and pretended he was afraid of the *Emperor*, *Brandenburg*, and the *Muſcovite*. They told him 'twas no time to examine theſe things after ſo many Promiſes and Oaths, and the receiving of ſo many Rewards. At laſt when they had ſpent the whole Morning in ſuch interviews, he returned with his Company to his former Poſt, and withall told them, 'Twas their importunity more than their Reaſons that brought him back.

During this Conference, which continued but too long, the meeting was ſilent; and the oppoſite Faction expecting to reap advantage from *Sapieha*'s Irreſolution, who was a Man that was always confuſed in Matters of Duty; ſingled out *Gorowski* Caſtelan of *Gneſna*, who

who walked ſoftly up, and made a ſign for a Parley: Upon which *Szwienziski* Biſhop of *Kiow* was deputed, and the Caſtelan gave him to know his Party wanted a Conference to be managed by Deputies in the *Kolo* before the Primate and Mareſhal. Upon the Biſhop's report 'twas agreed to; though they perceived the deſign was only to gain time till the morrow; yet they had a mind without loſs of more time, to hear what they had to ſay.

They declared openly that ſince a Rupture would be fatal to the Republick, they were utterly againſt it; and if the oppoſite Party would abandon *Conti*, they were willing to do the ſame by *Saxony*, *Nieubourg*, *Lorrain*, *Bavaria*, and all the Royal Family. But the others looked upon their propoſal as ridiculous; they reckoned it a piece of imprudence for thoſe who were ſuperiour in force, to treat upon an even lay with the weaker ſide; ſince thoſe who were conquered ought to obey the Conqueror's Law. They fanſied that if they had been able to make good the pretenſions of any of their Candidates, they would not have dropp'd their Remonſtrances; that one day would put an end to the matter, and thoſe who had a mind to ſtand out muſt either ſubmit or prepare to fight.

Others again, who would ſeem to be more moderate, were almoſt over-reached a ſecond time, when the oppoſite Party complained

plained that they were unjuſtly charged with obſtinacy, ſince they offered to part with ſeven Princes, providing they would part with one. To lay the blame upon them, the Great Treaſurer of the Crown propoſed that the Primate ſhould offer them the Prince of *Baden*: Next to *Conti* the Primate would have given him the Preference. The Biſhop of *Plosko* came to *Warſaw* to acquaint the *French* Ambaſſador with the Propoſal. Immediately the Ambaſſador wrote to the Primate and all his Friends, deſiring him if that Propoſal was ſeriouſly entertained, to remember the ſtrength of *Conti*'s Faction. When the Biſhop returned he found the Great-Treaſurer had propoſed the Prince of *Baden* to the Deputies of the contrary Faction; and that *Jablonouski* had rejected the Propoſal only becauſe it was motioned by *Lubomirski*, and as he fanſied promoted by *Sapieha*; ſo he embraced it becauſe his Enemies diſliked it. The Palatinates that ſtood for *Conti* were diſpleaſed with theſe two Senators; but they excuſed themſelves as much as they could, and declared that what they did was only with a deſign to affront *Jablonouski* in the face of the whole Republick: However that Plea did not ſatisfie them; their indignation againſt the oppoſite Party was ſo violent, that with one conſent they interrupted the Primate while he offered to nominate.

The

The Biſhop of *Cujavia* being perſuaded their heat would relent if he could procure a delay, wrote a Letter to the Primate, half *Latin* half *Poliſh*. 'Twas to this purpoſe: Since your partiality for *France* has made you forget the acknowledgments ye owe to the Royal Family, and Prince *James*'s Intereſt is now ſunk; I give you notice that we have fourty Companies reſolved to chooſe *Saxony*, if you nominate *Conti*: In the mean time I will not incroach upon your Rights, unleſs Threats and Arms oblige me. The Letter concludes in his own words thus, *Sunt nobis* 40 *vexilla Nobilium pro* Saxone *Conjurata, ſi nominabis* Conti. *Attamen non involabo in Jura Primitialia* V.E. *niſi coactus minis & armis*. This Letter was delivered to the Primate when he was going to give the Benediction to the Palatinates that had aſſembled round the *Kolo* in order to take poſſeſſion of it. He read it out to them; and the Gentry found it ſuch as they wiſhed for, as being a proof of the obſtinacy of a ſmall number againſt a great one, and the Combination of 40 Companies againſt 210. Then their Patience was exhauſted: They obliged the Cardinal to pronounce the Benediction, mount his Horſe and make an end of the important Affair. The Primate, in compliance with thoſe whoſe violence he could not avoid, about ſix a Clock at Night nominated *Francis Louis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, King of *Poland*, and Great Duke of *Lithuania*.

The

The Nomination was followed by the Acclamations of above fourſcore thouſand Gentlemen, while the oppoſite Party were projecting how to manage the deſigned Rupture. A Proteſtation would have coſt them too much Blood, which they thought it their intereſt to ſpare: But their Confuſion and Chagrin ſuggeſted other meaſures for recalling an Election, which they themſelves owned under hand to be the ſafety of *Poland*.

While they were conſulting, the Cardinal, accompanied with the Gentry, went in Triumph to *Warſaw* to ſing *Te Deum* in St. *John*'s Church. They found the Gates of the Church ſhut, by the order, as they ſaid, of the Biſhop of *Poſen* Ordinary of the place, and the Biſhop of *Livonia*, Dean of that Collegiate. But they were quickly opened by Orders from the ſame Prelates. For a Detachment of the Gentry fired ſo many Piſtols at the Windows of their Palaces, that they preſently ſatisfied their demands. Afterwards they excuſed themſelves, and would have laid the fault upon the Pope's *Nuncio*. But the Gentry who were equally ill pleaſed with them and him too, gave anſwer, that the contempt with which they treated his orders. was equal to the reſpect they paid to thoſe of his Holineſs.

The Primate having finiſhed the thankſgiving in the Church of *Warſaw*, went home attended by the Gentry, which paſſed by the Palace of the *French* Miniſters, and with their

their Hangers and Piſtols, ſaluted the Kings Arms, that were upon the Gate. A great many Lords and Gentlemen came to compliment them, and indeed the *Hungarian* Wine was not ſpared.

The Cardinal was ſcarce arrived at his Palace, when a Crowd of the Gentry came to acquaint him that the Biſhop of *Cujavia* having retired from the Electoral Camp with the three Generals, took advantage of his abſence, and at the head of the Fourty Companies quietly nominated *Frederick Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland* and great Duke of *Lithuania*.

Some Lords repreſented to him the Neceſſity of reducing that ſeditious Party; that ſince they would not ſubmit, they ought to be forc'd to it; that when the Hereticks had made a Conſpiracy to prevent the Election of King *Henry*, they were happily diſperſed by the Courage and Reſolution of *Albert Laski* Palatine of *Siradia*, and *John Kothewiecz* Great-Mareſhal of *Lithuania*, who threatned to cut in pieces all that withſtood the Senate's Orders: That the ſame Remedy was now needful; and though it might appear violent, yet 'twas proper for deſperate Diſeaſes.

The Primate, with a Moderation ſuitable to his Genius and Character, diſapproved the Deſign; and the Lords ſubmitted to his Advice ſo readily, that one would think there

there was more Oſtentation in the Project, than Eagerneſs to put it in Execution.

The Biſhop of *Cujavia* and his Accomplices were not ſo ſcrupulous. Having nominated the Elector out of the Electoral Camp, and ſung *Te Deum* in the ſame place, he came to repeat the Thankſgiving at *Warſaw*, while the whole Town was buſied in making of Bonefires; and *Conski* Palatine of *Kjow*, and Great-Maſter of the Artillery, was ordering the Guns to be diſcharged for the Prince of *Conti*. The Biſhops of *Poſen* and *Livonia* opened the Gates of the Church to him, which had been ſhut upon the Primate by their Orders, but three or four hours before; and there they celebrated the ſame Thankſgiving, with this difference only, That the Biſhop added the Benediction of the Holy Sacrament, and by that Ceremony rendered the Action more odious.

Among all the Nullities in the Nomination of *Saxony* there was one which the Biſhop was not aware of; *viz.* that 'twas perform'd out of the Electoral Camp. His Friends acquainted him with the Overſight, and obliged him to return next Morning by Break of Day, to make a new Nomination, as if that Ceremony could have rectified a Proclamation that was irregular in all its parts.

The Biſhop returned from thence to the Church of *Warſaw*, where at ſix a Clock in the Morning he tendered the *Pacta Conventa*

to

to General *Flemming*, giving him the Title of Envoy Extraordinary, though he had no Right to that Character. This Miniſter promiſed, in his Maſter's Name, to advance Ten Millions for the Uſe of the Republick; to maintain Fifteen thouſand Men during the War with the *Turks*; to retake *Caminiec* upon his own Charges; to re-eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion in *Saxony*; and that the Electoreſs ſhould make an Abjuration before ſhe were crowned, or elſe forfeit all her Pretenſions to the Crown. The Biſhop was not aſhamed to adminiſter the Oath to a *Calviniſt* Envoy, in the Preſence of the Holy Sacrament, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *James Halecki*, Huntſman of *Podlachia*, and *Martin Grazewski*, Vice-Chamberlain of *Vilna*; upon whom they drew their Hangers in the very Church where the Sacrament was expoſed. And this Prelate inſtead of redreſſing the Diſorder, cried, *Kill, Kill*; whereupon they made a verbal Proceſs before the *Nuncio*, who publickly diſapproved the action, but did not think fit to puniſh it.

When the Election was over, the Cardinal hoping the ſmaller number would be brought to comply, propoſed a Conference between the two Parties. Accordingly it began on the 28*th*, the moſt noted Lords on both Parties being preſent. *George Albert Denohoff* Biſhop of *Premiſlia*, and Great Chancelior of the Crown, opened the Conference with a Speech; in which he told them the day

of the Election, was a repreſentation of the day of Judgment; and the Favourites of *France* on the Right repreſented the Elect, and alluding to the Lamb upon the Primate's Arms, quoted that paſſage of Scripture, *Hi ſequentur Agnum, quocunque ieret*: And compared *Saxony*'s Faction to the Goats that put all in diſorder, applying to them that other paſſage, *Vos enim depaſti eſtis vineam.*

Then the Deputies were named. *Conti*'s Party demanded that according to Law the two Competitors ſhould not enter nor ſend Troops into the Kingdom, nor ſeize any Place, or claim aright for Coronation, till the publick were aſſembled again in a ſecond Diet to confirm the Election; and determine which of the Candidates ſhould mount the Throne. *Saxony*'s Party, conſidering *Conti* was far off, and *Saxony* juſt at hand, gave no other anſwer but a flat denial; and on the fifth of *July*, which was the laſt day of the Conference, declared that they ſaw the *French* had a mind to gain time, but the *Saxons* would not looſe the opportunity.

While the Conference was held, thoſe who were not admitted enjoyed themſelves in Feaſting, and their heat was ſo much abated, that they ſeemed to bury the Old *Poliſh* Humour. By their Voices one would have thought they were rather pleading upon ſome particular cauſe before Judges, than managing the Election of a King in a General Diet of the Kingdom.

Some

Some wondered the Biſhop of *Cujavia* ſhould encroach on the rights of the Primate, in nominating a King in a tumultuous Aſſembly; but they were more ſurprized to hear him ſay the Elector had made an Abjuration at *Rome* two years ago. 'Twas Publickly notorious, that he had not performed one external act of the Catholick Religion: On the contrary he continued openly in the Lutheran Profeſſion. And the more zealous among them owned that if his Abjuration was true, he ſhould be looked upon as an Apoſtate.

Others examined the qualities of the two Rivals. They extolled the Prince of *Conti*, whoſe Vertue they had ſenſible impreſſions of, from the *French* Ambaſſador. Prince *Lubomirski* Great Treaſurer of the Crown, and many other *Poliſh* Gentlemen, were witneſſes of his Bravery at the Siege of *Newhauſel*, and they could not but credit their Report, that 'twas by his means chiefly that that important Place was taken. Others would have ſpoke on the Elector's behalf; but his Defeat at *Temeſwaer* in the Month of *April*, 1696, was too freſh in their Memories, to conſiſt with his Glory: Though afterwards the diſgrace was in ſome meaſure extenuated by Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*'s Repriſals.

They boaſted of the Elector's ſtrength, which indeed was extraordinary; and declared every Day by freſh inſtances. His Enemies could not deny it; but they diſtinguiſhed between Hero's and Gladiators, and

affirmed that *Milon* of *Crotone* went beyond him.

When the News of the Election of the Elector, came to his own Country, they were as much diſturbed as *Poland*. Prince *Eugene* of *Furſtemburg* their Governour having cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung at *Dreſden* on the 4*th* of *July*, would have ſaid Maſs in the Caſtle Chappel: But *Chriſtian Ebrarde* the Electoreſs, Daughter to the Marquiſs of *Brandebourg Baroth*, being a Calviniſt, ordered the Gates to be ſhut, and refuſed to take upon her the quality of Queen. The Electoreſs Dowager was not leſs zealous: So that both theſe Princeſſes, upon this occaſion, ſhow'd all the tranſports of anger, that Women in a paſſion are capable of.

I know not whether they did it out of Zeal, or to ſerve the Elector's Intereſt, in ſeeming to ſtand by the Country of *Saxony*. However the States were as reſolute as the two Princeſſes; and declared they would admit of no change in the point of Religion. They went upon the latter will of *John* II. the Elector's Grandfather, which obliged all his Succeſſors to Profeſs the Lutheran Religion. This Act they would have looked upon as Authentick, had not ſome former accidents given them a jealouſie of what might come after.

*George* Duke of *Saxony* Died in 1539. He was the moſt Zealous Prince of his time, for the Catholick Religion; as it appeared by many

many proofs in his life-time, and at his Death, by his latter will. He had no Children to Succeed him. *Henry* his Brother, *Maurice* and *Auguſtus* his Son had imbraced the Lutheran Profeſſion in 1537; and he was unwilling his Country, which by his means had kept up the Purity of the Goſpel, ſhould fall into the Hands of Hereticks that had corrupted *Saxony*, and a great part of *Germany*. In order to compaſs his Pious Deſign, and at the ſame time to give his Family no occaſion to complain of Injuſtice, he made a latter Will, in which he determined the Succeſſion to *Henry* and his Children; providing they introduced no Change of Religion into the Countries which he gave them: And declared that if they counteracted that Condition, they had no Right to his Heritage. He entreated the Emperor *Charles* V, and King *Ferdinand* his Brother, to be Executors of his Will, and not to give the neareſt of his Relations Poſſeſſion of his Country, without they Profeſſed the Catholick Religion.

Had theſe Executors been poſſeſſed by the ſame ſentiments of Piety with that Prince; *Leipſic* might have been a Catholick City this Day; but their particular Intereſts prevailed above Religion: They gave *Henry* and his Children the liberty of eſtabliſhing Hereſie in that City, at a time when they were pretending to extirpate it out of the whole Empire. *Henry* took advantage of their weak-

neſs, and invited *Luther* to that Town, which he perverted as well as many other Cities in *Germany*. Now the *Saxons* conſidering how Prince *George*'s Will was executed, were apprehenſive of the like Treatment for Prince *John*'s,

They and the *Poles* were equally in fear, the one for the Lutheran, the other for the Catholick Religion. The Primate wrote to the Elector, that the Diet had choſen the Prince of *Conti*; that he hoped he would not look upon the Tumultuous Election of a few Seditious Perſons, as the Unanimous Conſent of the whole Nation; and that he in the behalf of the greater and better part of the Nation, intreated his Highneſs to be rather their Friend than their Soveraign. This Letter the Elector would not receive, becauſe 'twas not addreſſed to him as King.

The Cardinal gave Advice alſo to the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandebourg* of the Election of the Prince of *Conti*: That Elector anſwered that he was ſorry for the Diviſions of the Republick, and offered himſelf as Mediator. The Emperor's Anſwer came later; 'Twas wrote to the Envoy in theſe words, *Non eſt noſtrum dare conſilia Domino Cardinali & aliis Nobilibus* Polonis, *tamen optaremus ut amici fierent Regis* Poloniæ, *quando quidem aliter fieri non poteſt.* 'Tis not our buſineſs to give advice to the Cardinal and *Poliſh* Nobility; however we wiſh they would make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and ſtand by

by the King (meaning the Duke of *Saxony*).

Theſe Letters were as ineffectual as the Conferences. After the *5th* every one followed his own meaſures. The Cardinal called a Diet on the *26th* of *Auguſt*, to confirm the Election: The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, in oppoſition to the Primate, proclaimed that the Coronation of the Duke of *Saxony* was to be ſolemnized on the *15th* of *September*, and the preceding Diets ſhould meet on the *6th* of *Auguſt*.

In the mean time the *French* Miniſters were not idle, On the *27th* about two hours after the Election, the Abbot of *Polignac* diſpatched his own Secretary for *France*, to acquaint the King and Prince with the welcome News. The Courier being big with hopes of ſucceſs, and full of the great News he brought; was afraid of leſſening their agreeableneſs, by keeping too cloſe to the naked truth, or to his Inſtructions; eſpecially ſince the Ambaſſador had once thoughts of employing another, and upon his ſollicitation the Prince had deſired that he ſhould be ſent. So his Vanity not being ſatisfied with a ſimple Recital of what paſſed; he added a great many particulars, which could not have happened till after his departure, and by that means betraied his Levity.

He had Orders to give an Account of what paſſed at the Election, where he was an Eye Witneſs, and to repreſent how much

*Poland* ſtood in need of having their Elected Prince immediately at their Head, to draw together their Armies, and prevent the *Saxons* marching into their Kingdom, who would not fail to take advantage of his abſence.

The Secretary arrived at *Verſailles* the 14*th* of *July*, and being interrogated about the Diviſions, ſaid, they were not at all to be feared; and perhaps by that time they were already appeaſed. The Prince asked if 'twas neceſſary for him to ſet out immediately. He anſwered he had no occaſion, and that 'twas more proper for him to wait the arrival of the Embaſſy which the Republick would ſend him.

Theſe News filled the Court, City, and Armies with Joy, but the next Day made a wonderful alteration; when they received the Copy of a Letter, wrote by the Elector of *Saxony* to his Miniſter at the *Hague*, in which he gave Advice of his own Election, without mentioning *Conti*'s: Doubtleſs his deſign was to put off *Conti*'s Departure for *Poland*, in caſe the Couriers with the true News were ſtopped in *Germany*. Some Letters wrote from *Dantzick* with the ſame view, and to the ſame purpoſe, increaſed their trouble. Thus they paſſed the 14*th*, 15*th* and 16*th* in great uneaſineſs, and in admiration of the Prince, who carried the uncertainty of his Lot with ſuch firmneſs and conſtancy of Mind, as proclaimed him worthy of a Crown.

They

They looked impatiently for the arrival of the Ambaſſadors, that the firſt Courier had mentioned: But on the *16th* at Night the Abbot *Rioux*, having been diſpatched by the *French* Miniſters, arrived; who gave a ſolid and circumſtantial Account of the Rupture; Remonſtrated the neceſſity of the Prince's Preſence; and in fine told them, They were not to expect an Embaſſade, by reaſon of the difficulty of the Paſſage during the War: for which, and ſeveral other reaſons, the *French* Miniſters had diſpenſed with that Ceremony, in their Propoſitions Printed a few Days before the end of the Diet.

When the Prince knew how things ſtood, he made Preparations for his Departure; but ſince he was not to expect an Embaſſade, thought it convenient to wait till the Cardinal notified his Election to him by a Letter. This Letter of the Cardinal's was ready the *30th* of *June*, and given to one of the Abbot of *Polignac*'s Gentlemen, to be ſent by the Abbot of *Rioux*; but the Gentleman being deſigned for a third Courier had a mind to deliver it himſelf, and accordingly kept it; for he thought to ſet out that ſame Day, and fanſied he would paſs more ſpeedily and ſafely than thoſe who went before him.

A certain Miſſionary called *Mommeian*, who was Superiour of the Boarding-School of *Lowitz*, the Cardinal's Favourite, and very Zealous for *France*, diſcovered the Intrigue; and

and gave the Abbot of *Polignac* to know that the Gentleman had reaſon to be impatient to be gone, for he had ſhown him the Cardinal's Letter. As Caſes ſtood then, the Abbot could not but chide the Gentleman. The Elector's Preparations and Profuſeneſs were likely to gain him new Favourites; thoſe who confided ſo much in *Conti*'s diſtance, and *Saxony*'s nearneſs, would not liſten to the moderation of the Law in caſe of Diviſions: And theſe Reflections did ſo frighten *Conti*'s Party, that in a Grand Council held in the Great Treaſurer of the Crown his Houſe; they declared to the *French* Ambaſſador, that they could ſtand no longer by him, that the Act of Election, which he demanded ſo earneſtly, was uſeleſs; that they had reſolved they would not deliver it, till they ſaw the Execution of his Promiſes of Paying four Quarters due to the Army; ſince 'twas that alone could put them in a Condition to reſiſt the Elector's Forces. Then the Ambaſſador asked what ſhould become of the Prince they had called; they anſwered, That he muſt be Countermanded.

The Ambaſſador finding this Anſwer both poſitive and unfavourable, was in a quandary, whether the Primate's Letter ſhould be ſent: For he conſidered, that if the Prince was already on the Road, in compliance with his own Letters, as he hoped he was, then he would arrive in time enough to recover

ver his Party; if he was not yet ſet out, 'twas not prudential to call him in ſuch an unfavourable juncture, unleſs he were ſure of the Conſtancy of his Faction. In the mean time he made it his buſineſs to make ſure of thoſe who had not yet abandoned him.

At length he compaſſed his Deſigns, in having the Act Signed by the Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *Leopol*, and all the Prelates of his ſide, excepting the Biſhop of *Cracow*, who abſented by reaſon of his great Age. 'Twas likewiſe Signed by all the great Officers of the Crown and *Lithuania*; all the Palatines and Caſtelans, excepting the Great-Mareſhal *Lubomirski*, who remained neuter, and the Vice Chancellor *Tarlo*, who was gone over to *Saxony*. Then the Ambaſſador diſpatched the third Courier on the 18*th* of *July*; who had the misfortune not to arrive before the 9*th* of *Auguſt*.

The Ambaſſador could not preſume the favourers of *France* would ſtand ſo long out, as they did: So by that Courier he gave the King notice, that he feared all the *Poliſh* Gentry would join with *Saxony*; unleſs the Prince of the Money promiſed to the Army were there before the 31*ſt* of *July*; becauſe the Lords who Signed the Act, had only engaged to continue in their Union till that day, as being ſure by that time the Elector of *Saxony* would pay the Troops, and then they had nothing to Object againſt him. The

Prince

Prince was ſo far from being able, in ſo ſhort a time, to reach *Poland*, where he was expected ſo impatiently; that he was yet at *Paris*, waiting for the Original Letter from the Cardinal: And when that came, the the Court received this we now ſpeak of. So the Prince ſaw himſelf Called and Countermanded by two Letters received both in one Day; only that which called him was of an older Date than the other by 18 Days.

Then the Prince's Journey was put off a ſecond time, and by a neceſſary, but fatal conſequence, The Orders for the Remitments were recalled. Good Politicians will eaſily perceive that the moſt ſtudied precautions are often times to no purpoſe; eſpecially if they conſider, that ſuch mean matters as the Private Deſigns of a Courier, have influenced the moſt important Affairs of this Age.

However, a little time diſcovered that the ſhort Day which the *Poliſh* Gentry had given to the Abbot of *Polignac*, was only threats; for when they received the News of the Elector's Arrival, their Zeal revived with freſh Vigor. In the mean time twas needful to engage the Town of *Dantzick* in the *French* Intereſts: The Abbot of *Polignac* was obliged to continue in the Centre of the Kingdom, where his preſence was neceſſary; ſo the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattle* ſet out for that Place on the 2*d* of *July*, in order to appeaſe the Queen, to keep the Migiſtrate of the

Place

Place right, to ſatisfie the *Poles* that were about to come thither for Money, to perſuade the Banquiers to have the Money ready to be paid as ſoon as the Bills of Exchange arrived, and in fine, to make ſure of *Pruſſia* where the Prince was to paſs when he arrived. He delivered to the Queen the King's Letter, and with a great deal of ſubmiſſion told her the Reaſons that retarded the performance of that Duty. She refuſed to enter into any Negotiation with him, and continued Reſolute to maintain the Elector's Party, as being the weakeſt, and the leaſt able to withſtand her, when *Conti*'s Faction, being the ſtrongeſt, came to be broke.

The Magiſtrate was as obſtinate as ſhe; and alledged as weak Reaſons: The chiefeſt were, the Loſſes the Town had ſuſtain'd by Sea during the War: The ſollicitation of the Queen and Elector of *Brandebourg*, the Elector of *Saxony*'s Country and Religion, which were more agreeable to the Inhabitants than that of the Prince of *Conti*, who was but too good a Catholick. It had been an eaſie matter to refute all theſe Reaſons; but the Magiſtrate thought he eluded all poſſible Replies, when he told him that the Town, in purſuance of its Statutes, would acknowledge either of the two Princes that ſhould be firſt Crowned; and till that time they would ſtand Neuter. The Abbot of *Neuf-Chattel* perceiving the Magiſtrate went upon the hopes of *Saxony*'s preventing the Prince of *Conti*, repre-

preſented the advantage that would accrue to a Trading City, by a Commerce with *France*; and told him that if the Citizens would act regularly, they were obliged to acknowledge him as King who was firſt Elected according to the Laws of the Kingdom, by a plurality of Votes, and by the better part of the Republick; that if bad Counſel prevailed with them, to take other meaſures, they ought to call to mind, how on the like occaſion they acknowledged the Emperor *Maximilian*, to the prejudice of King *Stephen*, and drew upon themſelves ſuch diſgrace, as in prudence they ought now to avoid. But all theſe Reaſons had no influence upon a ſet of People prepoſſeſſed with a Zeal for their own Religion, and an implacable Hatred againſt *France*.

The other Citizens were more tractable. Some lent him Sums of Money. 'Tis true they were very ſmall; however they ſerved to ſtop the Mouths of ſome of the great Lords Reſidents that teaſed the Abbot with perpetual Demands. His abode in *Dantzick* was likewiſe uſeful in keeping the *Pruſſians* in order, and ſecuring the Town of *Mariembourg* for the Prince till he arrived.

While the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattel* was taking care of *Pruſſia*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *Warſaw* was endeavouring to retain the reſt of *Poland*; which his Enemies had a mind to ſeduce. The Elector of *Brandebourg* in his Letter to the Primate had offered his

his Meditation, and out of reſpect to a Neighbouring Prince they accepted it, tho' they expected to reap no advantage by it, but that of gaining time. The Publick Conferences commenced on the 9*th* of *Auguſt*. *Saxony* motioned that the Diet for Confirmation ſhould be Revoked; or if the Revocation was inconvenient, that the Cardinal ſhould oblige himſelf by Writing to Nominate *Saxony* inſtead of *Conti*; that the Primate by his *Univerſalia* ſhould call the petty Diets, as Preliminaries to the Coronation, and come himſelf to *Warſaw*, to put the Crown upon the Elector's Head; that in caſe they liſtened to theſe Conditions, the Elector would not admit the Biſhop of *Cujavia* to Crown him: That the Date of his Election ſhould Commence from his Confirmation in that Aſſembly; that he would Swear to ſuch *Pacta Conventa* as they offered him; and in fine, would Pay in ready Money to the Heads and Lords of the oppoſite Faction, the ſum of Eight Hundred Ninety Two Thouſand Crowns, to be divided among them as they ſhould think fit.

Theſe Propoſals were Anſwered in the following Articles; a Copy of which was given to the Baron of *Overbeck*, the Elector of *Brandebourg* his Envoy. They required the Elector with his Troops ſhould depart the Kingdom, and ſend an Ambaſſador from the Frontiers to the Diet for Confirmation, to de-

deſire the Crown; That he ſhould give better proof of his Converſion and renew his Abjuration in the Preſence of ſome Biſhop of the oppoſite Faction; and in fine ſhould renounce the Act of his pretended Election, and all the other means which he and the Biſhop of *Cujavia* had made uſe of to that purpoſe. Upon theſe Conditions, and the Execution of the Offers made by him, they promiſed to conſider of his Pretenſions; to treat him not as an Uſurper, but as a legal Candidate; and to regard the Merit of a Prince that would ſubmit himſelf to Reaſon.

Both Parties were ſtiff and bold; and not without Reaſon. The *French* Faction was encouraged by what paſſed at the Diets Summoned by the Biſhop of *Cujavia* to meet on the *6th* of *Auguſt*. That Prelate's Circular Letters were univerſally ſlighted. The Gentry that met, had no other view but to oppoſe *Saxony's* Election: They choſe no Deputies for the Coronation; and their only Study was to give reproachful Anſwers. The Diet of *Sroda* were more ſerious upon the matter: They entred into a Confederacy of ſeveral Palatinates to declare War againſt the Elector, the Caſtelan of *Kaliſh* was to be their General, and *Radomicki* a a Man of Merit and known Bravery, their Mareſhal. The Palatinates of *Lencicia* and *Rava* joined with them: In fine, this *Rokoſz* was ſo univerſally approved, that it ſerved

ved for a model to that concerted two Months after by the General Meeting of the Gentry.

The News of this Confederacy came to *Warſaw* on the 12*th* of *Auguſt*; and about two Days after a Courier arrived from *France*, namely *Lowis Etler* the Count of *Oldenbourg*'s Gentleman, and an ancient Officer in the *Poliſh* Troops; who during the *Interregnum* had made ſeveral Journies into *France*; and behaved himſelf very handſomly and faithfully. Among other diſpatches he brought a Letter from the Prince of *Conti*, Dated *Auguſt* 1. and addreſſed to the Cardinal Primate; in which he returned thanks to the Republick for the Choice they had made; and aſſured them he was fully reſolved to come and head their Troops, and ſhed his Blood for their Liberty, ſo ſoon as he received the advice of his Election from the Cardinal. This Letter was tranſlated into *Poliſh*, and Copies of it were carefully diſtributed over all the Kingdom. They were perſuaded, the third Courier with the Cardinal's Letter and the Act of Election, was arrived at *Paris* as next Day, or two Days, after the Date of the Prince's Letter. And therefore having broke up the Conferences with the Envoy of *Brandebourg*, they had no further regard to the Remonſtrances, he continued to give in; namely, That *France* did not mind *Poland*, ſince contrary to their cuſtom, they walked ſo ſlowly in their meaſures relating to it; and did not

tranſmit the Sums of Money that were ſo much wanted, and which they uſed to advance ſo liberally upon all other occaſions. He added that the blindneſs of the *Poliſh* Nobility was deplorable; that the Elector would never be kind to them upon a forced ſubmiſſion, but would treat them coldly, if not as Rebels; and ſpend all his Bounty and Rewards upon their oppoſites, who were not their equals.

The hopes of taſting of the Elector's Favour, and the fear of his Threats, made an alteration upon ſome: And The Head of the *French* Faction went to meet with the Ambaſſador, who, though he was equally perplexed with themſelves, yet he found Reaſons to hearten them. He told them the Affair was ſo important that the Court of *France* could not be indifferent about it; which they never were with reſpect to their Allies. He complained of the Intercepting of his Letters, and ſtopping of his Couriers, and of the unfavourable Offices of the Queen and Migiſtrate at *Dantzick*, who threatened the Banquiers of the City. He repreſented the Intereſt of the Court of *Berlin* in avoiding the Neighbourhood of ſuch a King as the Prince of *Conti*; and in fine, charged the *Poles* with being the Cauſe of all the danger they were in, in refuſing the next Day after the Election to ſend the Act to the Prince, by one of their own Gentry, according to his repeated ſollicitations. This laſt Reaſon being ſuch

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as they could not anſwer, made them approve of all the others.

While the Ambaſſador encouraged his Party with Reaſon, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* and his Complices were ſtrengthening theirs with freſh Violence. A few Days after the Election, they ſent an Ambaſſade to the Elector to entreat him to come and take the Crown. The Deputies met him at *Tarnowitz* upon the Frontiers of *Sileſia*, where the Palatine of *Volhinia*, the Great General's Son, made a Speech to him; ſtanding while the King ſate. He took care that the Envoy's were regaled, but did not bring them to Eat at his Table: Then the Palatine began to condemn himſelf for interlacing his Speech with ſo much flattery and meanneſs, that perhaps was the occaſion of the contempt he met with.

The Elector entered the Kingdom, attended by the Deputies of *Poland*, and the two *Krziſzpin*'s. At *Pickari* he renewed his Abjuration in the Jeſuits Church, in the Preſence of the Biſhop of *Samogitia*; from thence he ſet out for *Cracow*, accompanied by two thouſand *Germans*, all Proteſtants; who, according to the cuſtom of their Country, brought their Wives and Children along with them. They profaned the Churches in making them ſerve for Stables: They out-raged the Curates, and ſnatched the Sacred Plate out of the hands of the Prieſts, endeavouring to ſave it. In ſhort, he did

not march like a Warlike Prince. The *Poles* compared his march to that of *Vitellius*, when he went to take the Capital City of the Empire that he was not to hold long.

On the 21*ſt* of *July* the Elector made his Entry into *Cracow*, with no great demonſtrations of Joy. He had been there *incognito* for ſome Days before, and was lodged in the Royal Palace of *Lobzow*, where *Francis Lubomirski* Staroſt of *Olſzteyn* had lived for ſome time; he being obliged to turn out, and give place to the New Gueſt. However that did not hinder him to join in with the Elector's Friends; to break up the Petty Diet of the Palatinate of *Cracow* which was then held at *Proſzowice*, and return with the Gentry to *Cracow*, without ſeeing the Elector. From thence the *Staroſt* went to *Warſaw*, which had taken the Alarm upon the News of that Prince's arrival at *Cracow* with his Troops. But he endeavoured to hearten them, in upbraiding them with a groundleſs fear ſo far off, while he and his Friends were not afraid when juſt at hand.

The Elector was not yet Maſter of the Caſtle. The Governour, Count *Wielopolski*, declared he would not ſurrender it, becauſe the Devoir of his Charge obliged him not to deliver it, but to a King Elected by the conſent of all the Gentry. This Faint brought him a better Market. When the Elector could not prevail with Threats, he plied with Preſents: He preſented the Staroſt's

Lady

Lady with a Bracelet, and himſelf with Five Thouſand Crowns. Upon which the Caſtle was delivered, and all the good Reſolutions forgot.

The *Saxons*, were overjoied with this Conqueſt: And the Flatterers, amidſt the ſumptuous Feaſts, with which the Elector regaled them, ſpoke of nothing leſs than marching to *Lowitz* to ſtorm the Primate, and by his Example reduce the whole Kingdom. But the Council's deliberations were more peaceable; they gave a more moderate advice, *viz.* That they ſhould attend the Iſſue of the Diet which the Primate had called; and in the mean time continue at *Cracow*, and Fortifie it as much as the preſent juncture would permit. They added that in caſe the Reſolutions of the oppoſite Party proved too Violent, or threatned Danger to the Elector, in a Day's Journey he might fly from thence to *Sileſia*, where he would be ſecure.

That Language did not pleaſe the Elector, who had ſold his very Jewels, to compaſs a deſign, that they had given out to be ſo eaſily put in Execution. He intreated the Biſhop of *Cujavia* and the reſt, to think of ſome meaſures more worthy of a Prince that they looked upon as their Sovereign. The Biſhop and Complices commended his Courage; and told him that in order to maintain his Intereſt, he muſt bring more Foreign Troops into the Kingdom; bribe the Gentry of the Second Rank by liberal Pre-

ſents; and take care immediately to pay the Army of the Crown. Upon this Advice the Elector ſent for the falſe Ducats that were minted at *Breſlaw* by his Order; and burdened *Saxony* with Taxes; preferring the Ruine of his Hereditary Country, to ſuch a diſgraceful Flight as was propoſed to him.

In the mean time the *French* Ambaſſador was endeavouring to make the Army declare for *Conti*. It was a difficult undertaking without Money. However on the 10*th* of *July*, he ſent the Firſt Maſter of the Houſhold of the Crown with a Hundred Thouſand Livres, which the Primate had pawned his Jewels for, in order to raiſe the *Coſacks*. That Officer had likewiſe an engagement, ſigned by the Ambaſſador, and confirmed by a ſeparate Note from the Primate, That before the end of that Month the Army ſhould be Paid the four Quarters that were Promiſed them. When the 31*ſt* of *July* came, the Day they had granted to the Ambaſſador, was elapſed, and he had heard nothing from *France*: The Twelve Commiſſaries of the Army were then at *Warſaw*, where they ſtayed to the 20*th* of *Auguſt*. So that after three Weeks Stay, to no purpoſe, they were obliged to return, without any other ſatisfaction, but the continuation of Promiſes and Fair Words.

The Elector took advantage of their delay; and ſent two Millions in *Specie* to the Ca-

Caſtelan and Palatine of *Cracow*, with Orders to divide it among the Army. Theſe two Generals were glad the Money was to paſs through their Fingers, upon two accounts; one, becauſe they would have an opportunity of keeping a good part of it to themſelves; the other, becauſe by that means they had an occaſion of being reconciled to the Army, which after the Confederacy refuſed to acknowledge their Authority, or admit them into the Camp. *Przependouski* accompanied them, and told the Soldiers, they were come to give them all that *France* had promiſed. But after all their Profuſeneſs, of fourſcore and Six Companies, of which the Army conſiſted, they did not purchaſe above eight; which they ſent to the Elector, under the Conduct of *Potoski* Great Huntſman of the Crown. All the reſt, at the ſollicitation of Twelve Commiſſioners, who had been gained by the Abbot of *Polignac*, would not receive the Pay: And this was the firſt time that the *Poliſh* Army, was ever ſeen to refuſe Money.

The fidelity of the Soldiers, and the hopes of ſuddenly ſeeing the Prince of *Conti*; revived the Party of *France* till the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, that they met at the Caſtle of *Viazdow*, whither the Ambaſſador was ſummoned. Every Body appeared extreamly conſternated, that they could hear no News, at a time when the Prince's Preſence, and Re-

turns of Money were ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the putting in Execution of what they had projected. However, in the firſt place they greatly applauded the *French* Miniſter, for the Precautions he had taken in that time; and among other things, for having maintained at his own Charge, ever ſince the Election, the Foot Regiment of the Palatine of *Vilna*, which Guarded the Bridge of Boats upon the *Viſtula*; by means whereof he had preſerved the Communication between *Poland* and *Lithuania*. The Siſtem which he had propoſed, of having at the Diet of *Proparcii*, ſome Troops of Nobility who ſhould both give their ſuffrages as Gentlemen, and ſerve as Soldiers in the Military Expeditions, was univerſally approved; but there was no appearance of Money, which like the Soul was to enliven this great Body. Thereupon they asked him what ſupplies he could afford in this ſame time of oppreſſing need? Upon which the Abbot that he might ſtill more and more aſſure himſelf of the Fidelity of his Friends, whom he had carried ſo far, maugre their frequent Menaces, and to bind them by a faſter knot than that which tied them as yet to *France*, demanded two things: Firſt, That the Prince of *Conti* might be confirmed by a ſecond Proclamation; and in the next place, that the Republick according to the Example of great *Poland*, ſhould make an Aſſociation, bound with an Oath, againſt

againſt the Elector, and declare War againſt him.

The firſt Point was hotly debated, and it was reſolved, that if before the beginning, or though it were the breaking up of the Diet of *Proparcié*, they received more ſubſtantial News of the Prince's arrival, than that of the 14*th*, there ſhould be no heſitating upon the Embaſſador's Propoſal: But if no Prince or News came, Prudence would not permit them to enter farther into that Engagement; and that in this Caſe, it was better to ſuppoſe the firſt Nomination valid and effectual, than to infring it by a new one, which perhaps would be looked upon as done to no other purpoſe, than to rectifie the Defects of the former.

The Second Propoſal underwent no difficulty; for it was by common conſent reſolved to Summon a *Rokoſz*, and to declare War againſt the Elector as an Uſurper; and that the Reaſon was, becauſe whoever declares the War, is a Party capable to treat of the Peace. Thus the Embaſſador of *France*, who was ſummoned to that Conference, meerly to have been laden with Reproaches, had the advantage to obtain the beſt part of what he had preſumed to demand, and more than perhaps he ever hoped for.

This piece of Succeſs rendred ineffectual all the Attempts of Prince *James*, who could not pardon the pretended Friends of his Family, their Perfidiouſneſs to himſelf, by forming

ming a Faction for *Saxony*, which they might have raiſed with as much eaſe in favour of his Intereſts. He made his Addreſſes to the *French* Party, and declared by *Grochus*, Caſtelan of *Samogitia*, and the only Friend that ſtuck to him; that he threw himſelf into the Arms of true Perſons of worth, and beſought them, that in caſe the Prince of *Conti* did not come, to ſet him up in his *Room*. But the Propoſal came to nothing; for they to whom he addreſſed himſelf were engaged too far in the Intereſts of *France*. The Prince for whom *Grochus* interceded was too univerſally abandoned; and in truth, his faithfulleſt Friend, had too little Credit, and was a Man of too mean Parts, to bring about an Enterprize, which was above the reach of his management.

The Palatine of *Vilna*, followed by all the Senators of *Lithuania*, except the two *Kyſiſzpins*, and the Caſtelans of *Vilna* and *Troke*, arrived the 26*th* of *Auguſt*, that he might be preſent at the Diet of Confirmation, which was to ſit down the next Day. Four Thouſand Men of his Army alſo marched after him; but upon advice that there was no Money yet come, he countermanded them till farther Orders.

Upon the 26*th* of *Auguſt* the Cardinal, and all the Senators who had Elected *Conti*, repaired to the Church of St. *John*, where they met above Sixty Troops of the Choice of the Nobility under their Standards. The Mare-

Mareſhal of the laſt Election was at the Head of them: They heard Maſs, which was ſolemnized by the Biſhop of *Kjovia*; and a Jeſuite Preached the Sermon. Which done, they went to the Electoral Field, where the Count *Bieſinski*, Director of the Crown opened the Sitting, and declared againſt the Elector, and all thoſe who had delivered the Caſtle and City of *Cracovia* into his Hands; while the Factious had no other design than to break the Diet by ſome Proteſtation. To which purpoſe *Dozowski*, Nuncio of *Wiſna*, more bold than any of the reſt, ſtood up and ſaid, the Aſſembly was to no purpoſe, ſince the Nation had choſen the Elector of *Saxony*. He was about to have gone on, when a threatning murmur watched his Ears from all parts of the Room, and at the ſame time he perceived ſeveral Sabres drawn; which conſtrained the Nuncio to betake himſelf to his Heels, while the reſt purſued him out of the Field of Election; and gave him ſo many Wounds, that they left him almoſt for Dead, in the Arms of thoſe that durſt not undertake to defend him.

The Nuncio was cured of his Wounds, but he loſt the uſe of one Side of his Body, and was ſo disfigured, that after he had given this bad Example, no body was more capable than he, to amend it. His Accomplice had better luck; for he threw himſelf at the Cardinal's Feet, who touched him with his Croſs.

Croſs, as *Abaſuerus*, did with his Cane, and and ſaved his Life.

*Kraſſinski*, Palatine of *Plosko*, had given order to his Son to ſecond *Danowski*'s Proteſtation. But the imminent danger was a lawful diſpenſation with his Obedience: He preſently got a Horſeback, and made his eſcape to *Warſaw*; though above twenty Gentlemen purſued him with their drawn Swords to the very Turnpikes of the City.

Upon the 27*th* nothing was decided, becauſe the Ambaſſador of *France* tarried for News, which did not come. Thereupon *Rietinski* demanded what anſwer he ſhould give to two Gentlemen; the one of the Palatinate of *Cracow*; and the other of the Palatinate of *Sandomiria*, who, aſtoniſhed at the misfortune that had befallen *Danowski*; and the Day before durſt not make their Appearance, unleſs the Diet would grant them a ſafe Conduct for the ſecurity of their Perſons. But thoſe two Gentlemen were ordered to be told, that if they came with the ſame Deſign as *Danowski* did, they ſhould be anſwered as he was.

Upon the 28*th*, the Articles of the *Rokoſz* was propoſed; at what time the Cardinal painted forth in all its Colours, the Invaſion of the *Saxon*; he alſo excuſed the ſlowneſs of the Prince of *Conti*, and the Defect of Returns of Money, which he attributed to the Intercepting of the Bills of Exchange; The Brabbles of the *Dantzickers*, the Queen's

Queen's Credit with the Merchants, and the obliging fear that *France* was in of making the leaſt Attempt upon the Liberty of a Nation to whom ſhe was unwilling to ſhew the leaſt ſuſpicion: He aſſured them that the Prince, in conformity to his Letter received the 14*th*, would appear ſo ſoon as the Republick ſhould ſhew their forwardneſs to receive him.

The *Rokoſz* was reſolved upon, in oppoſition to thoſe, who to the prejudice of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *Poland*, had brought an Army of Hereticks into the Kingdom under the Conduct of a Lutheran Prince, who had delivered to him *Cracovia*, and the Caſtle belonging to it, and put the Republick into the danger from which they were now endeavouring to deliver her.

*Humiecki* was declared Mareſhal of the *Rokoſz*, who ſo well acquited himſelf of that Commiſſion at the Preliminary Diet, and during a Month, at the Diet of Election, that the Efforts and Intrigues of *Conſtantine Wapowski*, Enſign of *Sanok*, who alone durſt contend with him for that Dignity, were abſolutely fruſtrated. *Prielinski* delivered to him the Battoon of Command, and reſerved to himſelf only the priviledge of preſenting the Diploma to the King lawfully Elected; which was granted him.

The Palatine of *Vilna* was the ſame day choſen Generaliſſimo of the Forces of the Republick, but excuſed himſelf from accepting

ing that Honour, till the neceſſary Funds for Defraying that Charge was arrived. The Palatine of *Kjovia* alſo, to whom the ſame Preferment was offer'd, return'd the ſame Anſwer: So that it was reſolved that the Prince ſhould confer that Honour upon whom he ſhould think fitting. Several Regulations were likewiſe made, which would have been very beneficial had they been well put in Execution.

The Biſhop of *Kjovia* at the ſame time diſingaged all the Senators from a great deal of trouble, when he offered to go to *Cracovia*, and admoniſh the Elector in the name of the *Rokoſz* to depart the Kingdom. And the Prelate was upon his way in order to Execute his Commiſſion, when he underſtood that they expected him with Impatience, that they might give him the ſame Entertainment which *Donowski* had received; nor did he need any new Advice to prevent him from continuing his Journey.

After the Encloſure of the Camp was broken down, to the end the Mutineers ſhould not hold their Conferences therein; the Palatine of *Plosko* was ſummoned upon the 29*th* to Surrender the Caſtle of *Warſaw*, of which he was Governour; who thereupon demanded two hours reſpite: But upon his anſwer the Palatine of *Kjovia* drew Twelve Pieces of Cannon out of the Arſenal, which were pointed juſt againſt the Palatine of *Plosko*'s Palace: So that this Palace, which for a Pri-

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vate Lord is one of the moſt Magnificent in *Poland*, had like to have been laid in Aſhes, if the Owner of it had not preſently delivered the Caſtle; where they held their Conferences, and where the Act of Aſſociation was generally approved; To which, when every one had ſigned, he ſwore the obſervance of it by his *Head* and *Soul*.

A Gentleman whoſe name was *Kortechowski*, and who followed the Law, was diſcovered to be the Perſon who drew up the Elector of *Saxony*'s *Pacta Conventa*; upon which he was apprehended by another, who urged with great Earneſtneſs that they were not to let ſuch a Man go unpuniſhed, who was as wicked a Citizen as he was a bad Lawyer; and ſeveral there were who flocked about him with their drawn Swords, and the moſt merciful would have had him thrown out at a Window. But fear ſometimes infuſes ſtrength and wholſome Expedients; inſomuch that the Gentleman had the good luck to get out of their Clutches: For he threw himſelf at the Cardinal's Feet, who covered him with his Mantle, and ſaved his Life. But *Kortechowski*, after he had been the Object of the Fury of One, became the Deriſion of the other, who asked him which of the two he thought to have moſt Vertue, the Cardinal's Cloak or the Prophet *Elias*'s Mantle.

*Przependouski* by the Elector's Order had haſten'd from *Leopold* with 50000 Crowns, to be preſent at the Diet; but he had been there maſ-

massacred, if Providence by that Scourg. had not determined to chastise *Poland*. That Senator arrived the very same Day and Hour that *Kortzhowski* had like to have been Assassinated; the more unlikely, they would not therefore have let this 2d Victim escape. This Curiosity led him to ask a Lacky as he was going up Stairs, what was the reason of the great concourse of Nobility; to whom the Lackey, who knew him not, making answer that it was the *Rokosz* which was Assembled in opposition to the Elector of *Saxony* Adherents; *Przependouksi* who thought he should have met with the Palatine of *Plosko* there in Conference with his Friends, fled upon the News, and hid himself in the *Brandenburgh* Envoy's House. Of this the Nobility had Information, and sent him word the next Day, that if he did not depart *Warsaw* within three Hours, they would give him no Quarter; and the *Brandenburgher* was desired not to afford him any Sanctuary, if he meant to avoid the fury of the Rabble from which perhaps they could not protect him, To which he answered that the *Polander* went away in the Night, but kept him till the Storm was quite over.

The Troops of the Nobility after they had done what was desired from them in this Diet, desired leave to return home; though had they had Money, they would have been made use of for that second Piece of Service, for which the *French* Ambassador had designed

deſigned them, and they had taken the ſame Reſolution; but in regard that no body had wherewithall to pay them, they returned home; ſo that there remained at *Warſaw* none but the Senators, the Marſhal and the Council, which conſiſted of two hundred fourſcore and Twelve Deputies of Palatinates, and of all the Diſtricts that compoſe the Body of the Republick.

*Przependoiski*, delivered from the Terrors of Death, returned upon the Stage, more fierce than before, and thought he ſhould have been more at eaſe in that perpetual Diet, than with the multitude that had proſcribed him. In a word, timid Reflections ſucceeded the Vigor they had ſhewed before; and the the fear of the Lords was greater than that of the Nobility, becauſe they had more to looſe. The Kings of *Poland*, ſo ſoon as they are Crown'd, have a Prerogative to confer the vacant Employments, which were very numerous, by reaſon of the length of the *Interregnum*, and flattered the Ambition of thoſe who thought themſelves worthy to obtain them. There was no doubt but that the Elector after his Coronation would make a Diſtribution of thoſe Preferments; and it behooved them either by force to prevent the Ceremony, or to delay it by Negotiation. The Army of *Saxony* in *Cracovia*; thoſe of the Crown in *Lithuania* immovable for want of Money; the departure of the Nobility for the ſame

reaſon hindred them from putting in practiſe the firſt Remedy; therefore they reſolved to try the ſecond: And the ſame Lords who had proſcribed *Przependouski* ſome Days before, began to flatter him, and to talk to him of an Accommodation. The Arrival of *Danouski*, Grand Squire of the Crown, cauſed this Revolution. He had ſtuck cloſe for ſix Weeks together to the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattel*, with ſome Troops, and a good Number of the *Pruſſian* Nobility to receive the Prince; but having received from *Paris* a Letter of the Biſhop of *Plosko*'s Reſident, Dated the 13*th* of *Auguſt*; wherein the *Polander* ſent word that the Cardinal's Letter was arrived, but that the King for all that would not hazard the Perſon of the Prince: The Grand Squire carryed this dangerous News to *Warſaw*; and added, that the returns of Money were not arrived at *Dantzick*; and or if they ſhould be, yet the Queen's Credit, and the Menaces of the Magiſtrates would hinder the Payment; and there needed no more to conſtrain the whole Party to throw themſelves into the Arms of a Mediator.

The Pope's Nuncio would fain have been the Arbitrator, but he had too openly declared himſelf; and upon the Complaints that had been made of him, he had received Orders to obſerve an exact Neutrality. He knew his own Infirmity, and was therefore retired into *Pruſſia*, under pretence of regulating ſome differences that had happened in the

the Chapter of *Varmia*; but really that he might not expoſe himſelf to the danger of loſing his Fortune.

Thus the Mediation of *Brandenburgh*, that had been laid aſide for above three Weeks, was reimbraced by the Heads of the *Rokoſz*. Their firſt Propoſals were like to thoſe which had cauſed them to break off their firſt Conferences. The ſecond, though more moderate, were not any better received: So that they were reduced to content themſelves that the *Saxon* ſhould put off his Coronation to the Month of *October*, that they might have time to diſcuſs the three Capital Points, that concerned the diſmiſſing of the *German* Forces, the Converſion of the Electoreſs, and the Reparation of the Primate's Honour which had ſuffered ſo cruel a Dilaceration.

And now the Grand Mareſhal of the Crown, who had always obſerved a Neutrality, joined himſelf to the Mediator's Miniſter, out of a belief that the two Intereſted Parties would be obliged to him for ſo doing. After ſeveral Conferences, as well private as in Council, where the Cardinal would never engage himſelf in Writing to any thing that might prejudice the Prince of *Conti*; it was decreed among the Heads of the *Rokoſz*, that for the ſatisfaction of *Przependouski*, whom till then they had ſo much contemned, that a Writing ſhould be given him, wherein they ſhould Promiſe to acknowledge the *Saxon*, provided he ſhould not admit himſelf to

be Crowned before the 30th of *September*; The same Lords also offered another secret Writing to the Cardinal, by which they would oblige themselves never to separate from him; and that he on his side should persist in his Resolution not to sign any thing; but that to amuse the Factious only, he should summon the Nobility to meet upon the 26th of *September*, to the end they might represent to him the Elector's Inclinations to satisfie the Republick in Relation to her Grievances, and that the necessity of consulting with the Mareshal of the *Rokosz*, should serve as a pretence both to the one and the other, to evade all manner of Signatures.

But they who sought for Truth and Honesty in Treaties, could never approve this Precaution, the Elector and his Council found it too gross and palpable to be surprized at it; however they were overjoyed to see that the *Polanders*, contrary to their Custom, preferred Negotiation before open Force; and they minded nothing more than to employ to advantage the means which their Enemies neglected to make use of.

The Ambassador of *France* had the most reason to complain in this Conjuncture. The laying of him aside, had nothing in it that was sufficient, besides that it was not honest; for if the Elector granted the Proposal, that Minister's Party would be quite lost; and the *Saxon* would be universally acknowledged; if he rejected it, the *Rokosz* would be plunged

plunged again into the former Troubles and Anxieties which the fear of a Coronation had infuſed into them. The two Events were equally dangerous, there was but one Remedy, which was become uſeleſs, becauſe it had been often promiſed, but was never attended by performance.

The Palatine of *Vilna* Triumphed in his own weakneſs, and attributed to his own Prudence all the Irreſolution which he had ſo often made appear. He had ſent his Son to *Cracow*, to know whether or no the Elector would hearken to an Accommodation, and the Anſwer he received was, that if the *Sapiehe's* did not quickly ſubmit themſelves, they would ſee their moſt Mortal Enemies, preſently after the Coronation, advanced to all the great Preferments in *Lithuania*. The Friends of *France* being Repulſed, deſired the Coronation and Accommodation with *Saxony*, for no other end but that they might be eaſie in their minds, and hear no more talk of an Affair, the tediouſneſs of which had quite tyred them out. *Polignac* could no longer built upon any, but only ſome certain Friends, who in truth were proof againſt all Trials, and upon the Nobility, very formidable when they are in a Body; but which it was impoſſible for them to muſter together ſo many times without being at great Charges: So that he had no other Hope left, than in the over-haſty and precipitated Reſolutions of the Elector.

Things were in this Condition; when he underſtood that the Elector had ſent for his Equipage and his moſt precious moveables from *Dreſden*, to render his Coronation more Magnificent; and that by the Counſel of the *Palatine* of *Lencicia*, he was ſo far from delaying his Coronation, that he had laught at all the Conferences held upon that Subject, and perform'd the Solemnity upon the 15*th* of *September* as had been ordered in his Council.

In ſhort, the vigour and weakneſs with which the *Rokoſz* had Alternatively acted, infuſed ſtrenuous Reſolutions into the Factious. Of eight Officers, who kept the Keys of the Treaſury, there were ſix who adhered to the Prince of *Conti*'s Intereſts. But the Council of *Saxony* reſolved to force a Place, which had been always accounted Sacred, and for the Execution of this Peice of violence to make uſe of two Monks; whoſe Character ought to have better inſtructed 'em.

*Wizicki*, the regular Abbot of *Czermin*, of the Order of St. *Bernard*, and Grand Secretary of the Crown, was a Man in the Kingdom, the moſt given to Wine, and as well known by the Name of *Sitis*, as by the Title of his Abby, his Dignity, or his Family. *Wihowski*, Regular Abbot of St. *Croix*, a *Benedictine*, formerly Excommunicated by Pope *Innocent* XI. and who after ſo many Years, had never put himſelf to the trouble to releaſe himſelf from lying under the ſcandal of theſe Cenſures.

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Theſe two Monk who durſt not break open the Treaſurie, becauſe the Law forbid it, bethought themſelves of breaking down a Pane of the Wall, and fierce as Conquerors that enter a Breach, they ſeiz'd upon the Royal Ornaments, maugre the Proteſtations of *Panskokonski*, Guardian of the Crown, and the *Burgraves* of *Cracovia*, whoſe Conſent is neceſſary to Authorize a proceeding ſo irregular, and all thoſe other proceedings which the Biſhop of *Cujavia* had done and was to do, in uſurpation of the Primate's Prerogatives. The Elector's Council however compoſed of four or five Senators, declated the Archbiſhoprick of *Gueſna* vacant, and the Marſhal of the Confederacy an infamous Perſon and a Traytor to his Country.

After this the Biſhop of *Cujavia* obſerved no more Meaſures: He look't upon himſelf as the Arbitrator of the State of *Poland*, and believed that every thing was to give way to the Impetuoſity of his Genius and the violence of his Counſels. In vain his Friends all laid before him, that in conformity to the Statute of 1550 the King's Coronation was not to be Solemnized but by the Archbiſhop of *Gueſna*, with the unanimous conſent of the Nation, and that the Queen was to be a profeſſed *Roman* Catholick. To this they alſo added a Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, forbidding under pain of Excommunication, all Biſhops of *Poland* to

Crown the King to the prejudice of the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and prohibiting that Prelate himself to Crown a King who was in the least suspected of Heresie.

The Bishop of *Cujevia* made answer that *Battori* had been Crowned without any regard to the Oppositions of contrary Faction: That upon such an extraordinary occasion he might do what one of his Predecessors had done at the Coronation of that Prince. That as for the Conversion of the Electrice he knew not what might fall out: that if She refused to abjure, they might follow the same Rule that had been observed in reference to Queen *Helena* the Wife of King *Alexander*, who because she was the Daughter of the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, and consequently professed the Rites of the *Greek* Schismaticks, was acknowledged by the *Polanders* for their Queen, tho they would never consent to her Coronation. He cunningly alledged that the Regulation in 1550, was made for no other Reason, but because that Princess had too much favoured the Schismaticks. But it was sufficient for that Prelate to produce feeble Reasons, provided they were but plausible.

Upon the 13*th* of *September* began the Ceremonies of the Coronation. The Obsequies of the Deceased King were Solemnized by way of Representation, because the Mutineers were not Masters of *Warsaw*, where the Corps lay in *Deposito*. The 14*th* the

the Elector went to the Church of *St. Stanelaus*, according to Cuſtoms, to honour the Memory of that Martyr, who was kill'd at the Altar, ſaying Maſs, upon the 8*th* of *May* 1079. by the Hand of King *Boleſlaus* to whom that Holy Man had adventur'd to make the ſame reproach, that the forerunner of *Chriſt* made to King *Herod*.

Upon the 15*th* of the ſame Month the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, aſſiſted by two more, Crown'd the Elector and omitted none of the Ceremonies that were practis'd upon the like occaſions. The greateſt part of the Officers of the Crown and of *Lithuania* were abſent: The *Germans*, tho *Lutherans* perform'd the Duties of their Places, upon the refuſal of ſome other of the *Poliſh* Lords; and out of the fear they were in, leaſt the *Polanders* ſhould teſtify their Reſentments, the *Saxons* were diſtributed into ſeveral Quarters of the City, and a good Garriſon was put into the Caſtle. The choice of the *German* Troops were drawn up above the Church during the Ceremony; and the Elector made a new Abjuration, which was thought to be as Sincere as the former.

'Tis not known whether the length of the Ceremony, or the News of the Prince of *Conti*'s departure, or the Electors being tyr'd, was the reaſon that a fainting fit ſeiz'd him a little before the Crown was put upon his Head. Such an Accident might happen naturally; but ſeveral after the manner of

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the Ancients, look'd upon it as a very bad Omen. But they who with more Reaſon believed that thoſe ſort of Superſtitions were to be contemn'd, turn'd the matter into Raillery, and ask'd what was become of that *Hercules* whom the *Germans* had ſent into *Poland*? And to make ſome difference between the two *Heroes*, they cry'd, that the Ancient *Hercules* ſuſtain'd Heaven, but that the other fainted away at the ſight of a Crown.

And now the Elector permitting thoſe to open their Mouths who ſuffer'd him to act, diſtributed the vacant Charges, and made himſelf both Friends and Enemies: After that, he gave a ſplendid Collation, to which the *Poliſh* and *German* Ladys were invited. However the *German* Ladys had the Precedency; which the *Poliſh* Ladys took with as much Indignation as Women are wont to do that think themſelves deſpis'd. Revenge was the only Conſolation which they ſought for in the midſt of ſo ſenſible a diſgrace, and they found above a hundred Gentlemen, who either out of Complacency for the Female Sex, or hatred of the Elector, proteſted againſt all that had been done before, or ſhould be done after the Coronation. There went alſo ſixty more that came from the Palatinate of *Sandomiria*; who by the Intrigues of the Party oppoſite to the Elector, made a Proteſtation of the ſame Nature and upheld it more ſtrenuouſly.

The pretended Diet of the Coronation

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ſat down the *16th* with a ſtrange confuſion which laſted as long as the Aſſembly, that is to ſay, fifteen days, inſtead of ſix Weeks preſcrib'd by the Laws, and then it was put off till the Month of *February*. The firſt occaſion of diſcontent aroſe from the invalidity of the Deputations; but in regard the defect was Univerſal, it was as ſoon repair'd, while all were willing to treat themſelves as true Nuncio's, becauſe not one of 'em was truly qualified. But for all that the Confuſion ceaſed not; there was a diſpute about the Choice of a Marſhal: The young Prince *Wieſnowski* put in to have been the Man, but *Zwiſza* carried it before him, and created as many Malecontents as his Rival had Friends. The Tumult augmented every day upon occaſion of the *Pacta Conventa*, of which ſome demanded to ſee the Original, and others affirmed that it lay at *Warſaw*: It contained in expreſs Terms, that the Elector ſhould renounce the Right which he had acquired by his Act of Election, if he cauſed himſelf to be Crowned before his Queen were become a Roman Catholick. But the King was not not ſo Impolitick to let all the World ſee that the very next day after his Coronation he had violated the Words which he had ſo ſolemnly Sworn. However no other remedy could be found to defend him againſt the Importunity of the Nuncios, but only to ſay that the Original of the Act was loſt. However the ſixty Gentlemen of *Sandomiria*, before

fore mentioned, preſented a compared Copy of it, to which *Przependowski* would give no Credit; and that Lord, by his lyes, ſo embroyled the Affair in diſpute, that it was put off till the Month of *February*.

Upon theſe ſeveral Actions, there appeared a Paſquil, which contained the Arguments of five Acts of the Comedy of *Cracow*. The Firſt, a King without a Diploma: The Second, a Burial without a dead Body: The Third, a Coronation without a Primate: the Fourth, a Diet without Nuncios: And the Fift, Proteſtations without effect. Thus it was that the *Polanders* comforted themſelves for the Violences committed upon their Religion, the Violation of their Laws, and the oppreſſions of their Liberty, while their Wives at their Wits ends, did not believe themſelves ſufficiently revenged for a Slight affront, unleſs the Elector were thrown quite out of Poſſeſſion.

Soon after the Factious receiv'd News which allarm'd 'em much more then what we have already related. For the Prince of *Conti* left *Paris* the 2*d* of *September*, and upon the 7*th* took Shipping at *Dunkirk* under the Convoy of the *Chevalier du Baſt*, as much dreaded as well known in the *Northern* Seas: And Fame that magnifies Objects, had ſpread abroad all over *Poland*, that the Prince was coming with ſuch conſiderable Numbers of Men and Sums of Money, that he was expected with Extream Impatience.

So

So ſoon as they had receiv'd Advice at *Warſaw*, of the *Saxon's* being Crown'd, twas preſently ſeen that there were no longer any Meaſures to be obſerved, ſeeing that diſſimulation and ſubmiſſion had been ſo uſeleſs, and therefore being unable to amend what was paſt, they took precautions for the future. The Cardinal, the Heads and Council of the *Rokoſz*, aſſembled together, at what time the Primate revok'd his laſt Univerſals, and by new Ones, inſtead of the general Aſſembly Summon'd againſt the 26 of *September*, he convoked three particular Aſſemblies to meet upon the 10th of *October*; the one in great *Poland* at *Sencicia*, under Count *Wladiſlaus Przienski* Caſtellane of *Kaliſch*. The other in little *Poland*, at *Zawichot*, under the Orders of *Adam Sieniauſkis* Palatine of *Beltz*: And the third at *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, under the Palatine of *Vilna*. The Deſign of calling theſe Aſſemblies was to oppoſe with more eaſe the Elector's Enterprizes, and to prevent a diſorder like to that which had happened at *Proſtowice*, where the petty Diet of the Palatinate of *Cracovia* met, which tho it had been only Summoned to elect Deputies to the Sovereign Tribunals, yet the *Saxons* would have made a ſecond advantage of it, which was to have obliged 'em to receive the Reſult of their Maſter's Council againſt the Primate and the *Rokoſz*. With this Deſign, ſix Regiments of *Saxons* had ſurrounded the Diet, threatning to put all to the

the Sword, if they did not agree to what was demanded from 'em. And they would have gained their point, but for the Staroſt of *Olztein*, who ſeconded by his Friends, proteſted againſt the Diet, and the Violence of the *Germans*.

The Cardinal made the moſt of this Act in his Univerſals, and to avoided ſurprizes of the like Nature, called three Aſſemblies inſtead of one. By means of this Precaution he hindred the Elector from coming to *Warſaw* with his Troops, ſo ſoon as he had diſpatch'd the Coronation Diet. In a Word, it would not have been prudently done of the King to engage in the Center of the Kingdom, where three Bodies of Nobility Equally exaſperated againſt him, might have joyned together, ſurrounded and taken him after the Slaughter of all his Men.

Requiſite Orders being iſſued forth, the Cardinal, the Marſhal and Council of the *Rokoſz* retired to *Lowitz* attended by the Palatin of *Vilna*'s Regiment of Foot, which had guarded the Bridge of Boats upon the *Viſtula*, and ſix hundred *Reiters*, with the Artillery of *Warſaw* which conſiſted of Sixty Braſs Guns of all Sizes.

Scarcely was the Primate arrived in his Caſtle, when the Ambaſſador gave him to underſtand, that the Prince of *Conti* had paſſed the Sound, which made them believe the Prince would arrive in a little time. Nevertheleſs, he appeared not till the 26*th*

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in the Road of *Dantzick*, and upon the 28*th* came to an Anchor before *Oliva*; at what time the Burgeſſes of *Dantzick* were in a great perplexity which part to take: While the Reputation and Preſence of the Prince ſwayed one part of the Council to his Intereſts, and the Queen ſollicited the reſt in behalf of the Elector; and the *Jews* who had been treated ſo favourably under the Reign of that Princeſs, employed all their Credit to ſecond her deſires.

The Body of the City met, and Opinions were divided, They who held for *Conti*, repreſented the Advantages which a Trading City might have by a free Commerce with *France*, that they might fetch from that Kingdom Wine, Salt, and many other ſorts of Merchandiſe, with which they might furniſh all the Northern Parts: That the Trade with that Kingdom had contributed in part to render that City one of the moſt Flouriſhing of all the Hans Towns; that it was not Prudence to renounce all theſe Advantages to gratifie the ſollicitations of the Queen; and that they might give the *Jews* leave to ſpeak in her behalf, ſince they were the only Perſons that had taſted the ſweets of her Reign.

On the other ſide, they that held for *Saxony* made anſwer, That Trade was an Advantage, which in truth was not to be neglected, but that they were rather *Germans* than *Polanders*: That they ought to favour their own Nation, and preſerve the Lutheran Reli-

Religion, which was threatned with imminent danger, if the Prince of *Conti* carried the Crown from his Competitor; and therefore that it was better to acknowledge for lawful King a Proteſtant Prince, under whoſe Reign there would be no Invaſion upon their Religion; that the Elector's pretended Abjurations were not ſuch as the Catholicks gave out; and that he was too ſteady in his Reſolutions to betray his firſt Sentiments; and laſtly; That their Statutes ordained, that in caſe of a Fraction the City ſhould declare for the firſt that was Crowned.

The more Judicious earneſtly deſired the reſt to ſtay till the Senate and Nobility had by unanimous conſent decided in favour of one of the Competitors, and to forbear acknowledging either, till Fortune had declared on his ſide: And this Party ſeemed to be ſo much the more ſwayed by reaſon, becauſe they ran no hazard; they further Remonſtrated, that their own danger ought to render them more circumſpect in ſuch a Nice Conjuncture; that becauſe they declared themſelves in 1575 with too much precipitation, in favour of the Emperor *Maximilian* againſt *Stephen Battori*, the City had like to have been ruined; that he had declared her to be a Rebellious City, and compelled her in 1577 to rebuild the Abby of *Oliva*, and to quit the one half of the Revenue of her Haven which the Kings of *Poland* at preſent enjoy.

But

But the fear of the ſame uſage could not prevail with the Magiſtrates to make them obſerve a Neutrality. From the *26th* that the Prince arrived in the Road, they had not ſent to Compliment him: Their Ships paſſed by his Squadron without either Saluting him or the *French* Flag: But on the *29th* they Diſcharged their Cannon in favour of the *Saxon*; and the reſt of the Cities of *Pruſſia* within a very little followed their Example.

And indeed they had ſoon reaſon to Triumph, for having taken the Party they had choſen. The News of the Victory won from the *Turks* made them hope to ſee Ten Thouſand *Saxons* in *Poland*; which were part of that Victorious Army; which being uſeleſs to the Emperor, would not fail to be called off to the Succour of their Prince. On the other ſide it infuſed Conſternation into the contrary Party: Several that had flock'd to *Dantzick* ſlunk back again; and ſome began to complain that the Prince had brought no Forces along with him; as if *France* had foreſeen, Prince *Eugenius*'s Victory; and that all *Poland* had not been able to defend her King and her Liberties againſt Ten Thouſand *Germans*.

However the Conſternation was not ſo Univerſal, but that ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen came to Kiſs the Prince's Hand, who went every Day aſhore to *Oliva*, in order to confer with them. Nevertheleſs, he had that Prudence and Moderation, though

they all gave him the Title of King, to refuſe it, till he had obtained the Conſent of the contrary Party.

But while the Primate and the Deputies of the *Rokoſz* kept at *Lowitz*, the Ambaſſador of *France* concluded a Treaty with the two *Sapieha*'s, by which it was agreed, That for the Sum of Four Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Livres, that ſhould be depoſited in the preſence of Commiſſioners of *Lithuania*, the Son of the Grand Treaſurer ſhould come with Ten or Twelve Thouſand well Diſciplin'd Troops to Guard the Prince where-ever he pleaſed to go. It was alſo farther ſtipulated, that the Grand General of that Dutchy, and all the Officers of the Army ſhould Swear Fealty to him; and march afterwards with all their Forces to the Place aſſigned by the Prince, who ſhould put himſelf at their Head, and pay them the ſame Sum of Four Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Livres for two other Quarters, before they Marched againſt the Enemy. The ſame Miniſter ſent away the *Poſtoki* of the Crown for *Podolia*, where the Body of *Coſacks* which he had muſtered there together lay encamp'd with three ſelect Troops of the Houſe of *Lubomirski*. He agreed alſo with the Grand Treaſurer of the Crown, the Palatinates of of *Beltz* and *Kjovia*, as to what concerned them; and then preſently with Prince *Czartoreski* departed for *Dantzick*, where he arrived the 2*d* of *October*, and found the Prince ex-

expecting him a Ship-board that they might ſettle together ſuch Affairs as were of greateſt Importance.

The firſt Propoſal which the *Polanders* made the Prince, was go to *Mariemburg*, *Dzialinski* who was Steward of the Town and Commanded the Place in the room of *Bielinski* his Brother-in-Law, had muſtered together a Garriſon of Five Hundred Men, and was bound to ſupply that place with every thing for the Sum of Twenty Seven Thouſand Livres, which the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattel* had given him. But the Prince did not think it convenient to ſhut himſelf up in a Pound; that's the laſt thing that a Soldier can do after a Misfortune, and in expectation of new Succours to enable him to take the Field. Beſides, the danger was too great to truſt himſelf with *Dzialinski* after he had proved ſo unfaithful to the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattel*. That Miniſter had truſted him with a Hundred Thouſand Livers, and he deſired him a little before the Prince's arrival to ſend them to the Cardinal for the ſupply of preſſing Exigences; more eſpecially, to encourage the Troops at *Lowitz* to advance towards *Dantzick*. But that Officer kept the Money for himſelf; nor could they ever force him to make reſtitution, or oblige him to give an account of ſuch an Irregular and intereſted Act.

The ſecond Propoſal made to the Prince was to go directly to *Lowitz*; which they pretended might be done with ſo much the

more eaſe, becauſe all the Palatinates he was to ride through, embraced his Intereſts; and for that the Nobility that lay upon the Sea-ſhore might ſerve him for a Guard. But becauſe he had no Diſciplined Men, the very Authors of the Counſel ſubmitted; and judged it more to the purpoſe to ſtay and ſee the Effects of *Sapieha*'s Promiſes; from whom Couriers came every Day, and aſſured the Prince of theirs, and the ſpeedy arrival of the Senators of *Lithuania*, who were to join with the *Poliſh* Ambaſſie, and jointly offer the Crown to the Prince.

But the Elector who had no need to look after Soldiers at ſuch a diſtance, ſeeing he had his own Men about his Perſon, entered into a deep Conſideration with his Secret Council, what Courſe to take againſt a Rival, whoſe Valour and Conduct would not permit him to commit a fault, without paying dearly for it. To this purpoſe therefore, they gave him their different ſorts of Advice. Firſt, To March to the Crown Army, that he might hinder them by his Preſence, and ſome new effects of his Liberality, from joining with the Prince of *Conti*. The Second was, to go to *Warſaw*, and diſperſe the three Aſſemblies of the Nobility, that were to meet in as many different places; and withal to ſurprize the Cardinal. The third was to march in Perſon with all his Men into *Pruſſia*, to hinder the Prince's Landing, and cut off all Relief that came to him from Remote parts. But

But the Aſſurance they had at *Cracow* that the Prince would not quit the Road till the diſciplined Troops were come up, made 'em preſer the laſt Advice before the two former, only with this difference, that the Elector in ſtead of going himſelf into *Pruſſia*, ſent 3000 Horſe under the Command of *Galecki* Caſtellan of *Poſnania*, to whom he had given the Palatinate of *Fnow-Loclaw*; and with whom he alſo joyned in Commiſſion the Major General *Brandt* and *Flemming*, with Orders to all three, to ſettle the Tribunal at *Pietrikow*, which the Nobility would not permit to officiate, becauſe the Members of it by an unanimous, tho tacit Conſent, had approved the Coronation, and for that the Law required that all the Tribunals ſhould ceaſe, during an *Interregnum*.

The Troops marched from *Cracow* upon the 10*th* of *October*, the ſame day that the Nobility were to have met in the three different Places appointed by the Primate. The Aſſembly of *Grodno* was ſufficiently numerous and governed by the Conduct of the *Sapieha's*, who had aſſured the Cardinal by ſeveral Expreſſes, that inſtead of going to *Warſaw* to the general Rendevouz of the 17, they would go to *Dantzick*. That of *Zawichod* was not ſo numerous, becauſe the Palatine of *Beltz* was gone to *Brzezani*, to the Crown Army, where his Preſence ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary. The *Caſtellan* of *Kaliſch* carryed near two thouſand Men to *Lencicia*,

where every thing might have paſt to their Wiſhes, if that Nobility out of their too great caution, which is oftimes prejudicial when over ſcrupulous, had not obliged the Cardinal and the Marſhal of the *Rokoſz* to come upon the 18*th* to *Warſaw*, to make a ſecond Nomination of the Prince of *Conti*, to no purpoſe, becauſe that at the ſame time they they did not allow him ſufficient Forces to take poſſeſſion of the Crown which they had given him.

After that Proclamation the Aſſembly appointed Embaſſadors, ſome Senators and ſome of the Epiſcopal Order, and Authoriz'd 'em to draw up the *Pacta Conventa*. Orders alſo were given to *Bielinski*, Marſhal of the Diet of Election, who was at *Dantzick* with others, to preſent the *Diploma* to the Prince. All this might have been done as well at *Lowitz*, as at *Warſaw*; and time had not been loſt at that Ceremony, where thoſe of the leſſer *Poland* were not expected, yet by their complaints failed not to diſplay their Diſcontent.

After this the Cardinal returned to *Lowitz*, and the Caſtellan of *Caliſch* and the Marſhal reſolved to depart the next day for *Dantzick*, accompanyed with five or ſix hundred Gentlemen, and the diſciplined Troops which he had in his City, where he meant to have a Garriſon only. But upon the advice that the *Saxons* were upon their March to intercept him in his way, he ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle, out of which he ſuffered none to ſtir,

ſtir, but the Biſhop of *Kiovia*, the Caſtellan of *Kaliſch* and ſome others that were of the Embaſſie, with a Convoy of three hundred Horſe and a hundred and ſixty Reitres beloging to the Palatine of *Vilna*. And no ſooner were they arrived at *Oliva*, but the Prince received an Expreſs from the Cardinal with Letters, by which that Prelate beſought him to come to his Succour.

The Prince of *Conti* at the ſame time had diſpatched the Staroſt of *Olſtreyn*, *Glinski*, *Kochanowski* and *Gniewosz* with thirty ſix thouſand Crowns to bring away nine hundred Horſe that ſtayed for 'em in the Palatinats of *Cracow*, *Sandomiria*, and the Dutchy of *Zator*; and the firſt of theſe Lords who was to command this Reinforcement, departed the 17*th* of *October*. The Prince had alſo given thirty thouſand Crowns to the Palatine of *Kiovia*, to put the Artillery of *Lowitz* and *Marienburg* into a good Condition; and that Senatour had faithfully diſcharged his Truſt.

In the mean time the *Dantzickers* began to commit new Inſolences every day, as well againſt the Officers of the Squadron who went to their City, as the Seamen that belonged to the Shallops. Of all which the Embaſſadour made his complaints to the Magiſtrate, who thought it ſufficient to deny a Fact of which he had been an eye witneſs, and perhaps the Author himſelf.

And now they were preparing to require ſatisfaction for theſe Affronts, ſo ſoon as the Troops of the Republick ſhould be arrived. But at the ſame time that they expected 'em as well as the Cardinal, they received Letters from the *Sapieha's*, importing that the ſame day that the General of the Vanguard, was to have ſet forward, the grand Treaſurer of the Crown was come to the Grand Treaſurer of *Lithuania*, and had ſet forth as well to *Sapieha* as to the reſt of the Nobility, the danger of ſending the Detachment which was intended for *Pruſſia*, if they ſhould meet the three thouſand *Saxon* Horſe, who had orders to Fight all they met of the *French* Party, and not to give any Quarter. The ſame Senator aſſured 'em that *Oginski* was gone ſecretly to *Cracow* to receive Mony from the Elector to cauſe a Revolt of the *Lithuanian* Army and the Nobility of *Samogitia*. His Malice made him alſo add, that it may be the Prince of *Conti* would be far enough off before their Detachment arrived: He alſo produced Letters, whether true or falſe is uncertain, which ſpoke of his return, as of a thing reſolved upon. However little Credit would have been given to thoſe Letters, had not the *Sapieha's* ſhewed others from the Biſhop of *Ploskow*, much after the ſame Style, wherein the ſame Prelate Complained that *France* was too niggardly of her Money while the the *Saxon* ſcattered it abroad with as much profuſe-

profuſeneſs: and that of the two Princes, of whom the one was ſo reſerved while the other ventured at all, there was little doubt to be made but that the moſt Liberal would carry it.

However it were, the *Sapieha*'s who ſtood in fear of *Oginski* the Defender of the Coequation, and it may be had leſs Stomach to Fight the *Saxons*, gave ſo much Credit to the Fictions of the grand Treaſurer of the Crown, that they countermanded *Straznik* Commander of the Vant Guard, with his Detachment. And to cover their weakneſs, they wrote to the Cardinal and the *French* Ambaſſador, the Biſhop of *Ploskow* and the Palatine of *Kjovia*, the Reaſons that made 'em alter their Conduct, which conſiſted chiefly in this, that the Money promiſed the *Lithuanian* Army, had not been depoſited: That the Coldneſs that appeared at *Oliva* begate a Chillneſs in the Kingdom, among thoſe who had been the moſt Zealous; and who durſt not embark any further in an Affair where *France* did not ſet 'em the Example. After this they propoſed a remedy for all theſe inconveniencies, and this Remedy was that the Prince would be pleaſed forthwith to ſend Money to be depoſited in *Lithuania*, with a *French* Commiſſary to pay the Souldiers, and take an Oath of Fidelity from the Officers and Companys, as they received their Money. As if the way had been more open and free to carry Money through the midſt of the *Germans*, than to conduct a Body of Men.

But

But *Sapieha*'s fear together with the Irreſolutions of the Palatine of *Vilna*, and the bad reaſons which he alledged, made People believe him to be a General who wanted Courage, Credit, and Fidelity.

However it were, the Perfidiouſneſs of the Grand Treaſurer of the Crown hindered the making all the Reflections that might have been made upon the Conduct of others. This Officer from the beginning of the *Interregnum*, had declared for *France*, and had appeared the moſt Vigorous, and the moſt Zealous of all the Adherents. On the other ſide, the Crown of *France*, had all the Confidence imaginable in him, who for that Reaſon had had the greateſt ſhare of her Liberality.

The other Competitors therefore deſpaired of ſucceſs, if they could not draw him into their intereſts; however he had reſiſted all their Temptations, but ſuccumb'd under thoſe of *Conſtantia Boteum* his Wife. For the Elector cauſed a Propoſal to be made to that Lady of Forty Thouſand Crowns for her Husband: She accepted the Offer, and had ſo much Authority over her Husband as to oblige him to prefer that ſum before the the merit which he had acquired by his commendable Actions. And he was ſo much the more capable, becauſe that a few Days before he had Written to the Prince of *Conti* as to his lawful King; and had aſſured him, that he would forthwith be one of thoſe that ſhould attend his Perſon.

The

The *Polanders* therefore made uſe of the blackeſt Colours to paint forth this Action. Some fanſied it to be a reſemblance of the Fall of *Adam*, who was ſo weak as to ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by his Wife, whom the Serpent had ſeduced; and others compared it to the Treaſon of *Achitophel*.

But letting this paſs, upon the 21*ſt* of *October* the *Sapieha*'s received an Expreſs, importing the Confirmation of a Treaty which the *French* Ambaſſador had concluded with them; and it was ſigned by the Prince, and accompanied with ten Thouſand Crowns for the *Straznick*, to the end he might pay the Troops that were under his Command. About the ſame time the Grand Treaſurer of the Crown was departed from the *Grodno*, and by his Diſcourſes had ſo intimidated the Palatine of *Vilna*, that he became more inconſtant and irreſolute than he had hitherto appeared to be. On the other ſide, the Grand Treaſurer of *Lithuania* looking with Indignation upon *Lubomirski*'s Perfidiouſneſs, of which he had had a full Relation; and aſhamed of the Levity of his Brother, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to infuſe into him better ſentiments. But he, uncapable of following good Counſel, when there was a neceſſity to determine, promiſed his Brother to Write to the Prince, as he really did; and the Letter was very reſpectful and ſubmiſſive, wherein he brought his Majeſty to excuſe all paſt delays, and that he would be plea-

pleaſed to apply the ſpeedy Remedy, to what had been done amiſs; which he might eaſily do, if he would ſend a *French* Commiſſary into *Lithuania* with Money to pay the Army: A thing that had been already propoſed; and which any Body but the Palatine of *Vilna* would have been aſhamed to have repeated.

On the other ſide, the Prince of *Conti* who came only to fight, tired out with the ſlowneſs of thoſe whom he came to Succour, ſaw well that there was but one Courſe for him to take, and in a Conference which he had at *Oliva* upon the 29*th* of *October*, he declared to the Lords that were there preſent, That he believed he had done all for *Poland* that could be deſired for him; that he was ready to ſatisfie what the moſt Chriſtian King had promiſed in his Name; that he was come to put himſelf at the Head of ſo many brave Perſons, to free them from the Oppreſſion that threatned 'em, and which they had eſcaped for a whole Century together: But ſince they were willing to ſubmit to it, he could not brook to ſee the Expiration of a Liberty which they had defended ever ſince the Foundation of their Monarchy; That it became not his Dignity to be a ſpectator of their Diſgraces; and that he ſhould attribute to the misfortune of the times, the irregularity which other Nations might obſerve in their Conduct.

The Lords to whom the Prince directed his Speech, conjured him not to precipitate his

his Departure: And he no leſs willing to give them Demonſtrations of his Eſteem, made no great haſt, upon their Aſſurances, that in a little time there would come News from *Lithuania*. However the Prince's Complaiſance did not hinder him from taking all neceſſary Precautions. To which purpoſe, the next Day he ſent away all his Domeſtick Servants from *Oliva*, and cauſed them to go on Shipboard. Upon the 2*d* the Mareſhal of the Dutchy arrived with a ſmall Train, accompanied by *Caſimir Oginski*, Staroſt of *Godzin*, and Prince *Czartoreski*, who together with the Mareſhal and Prince *Radziville*, who was expected in two or three Days, were to perform the Duties of Ambaſſadors for *Lithuania*. At the ſame time alſo came the News that the *Saxons* to the number of Three Thouſand Six Hundred Soldiers had paſſed the Bride of *Thorn*. In the mean time, the Prince gave Audience to the Mareſhal a Shipboard, and asked him why *Straznick* or he, had not brought the Detachment that had been ſo many times promiſed, and for the payment of which, Money had been delivered. The Mareſhal anſwered, that the ſuperior Number of the *Saxon* Troops, and the Acts of Hoſtility committed againſt his Houſe, were the cauſe of it. But it was no difficult thing to percive that this Anſwer of the Palatine of *Vilna*, ſignified little or nothing. Or if it might have deſerved a more favourable Conſtruction; what reaſon was there

that

that a Prince ſhould ſtay at leaſt Six Weeks for Soldiers, when there was a preſent occaſion to fight the *Saxons*; and that a Perſon whom *Poland* had acknowledged for their Sovereign, ſhould ſpend the Winter upon the Sea, while his Kingdom was not able to afford him any more than one pitiful place of War, without Men, or the leaſt preſent ſupply in his preſſing extremity,

The reſt of the Ambaſſadors of the Republick arrived the 4*th* of *November* at *Oliva*. The Biſhop of *Kjovia* whom the Cardinal had made Chief, brought the Commiſſions for the reſt. The Caſtelans of *Kaliſh* and *Sicadia* were for *Great Poland*. The latter of which had been with the Prince for ſome time, and the former arrived with Three Hundred Horſe which he brought through *Mariemburg*; and if the reſt had brought as many Men, *Poland* perhaps had not now groaned under the Dominion of the *Saxons*. The Palatine of *Kjovia*, and the Caſtelan of *Lublin*, were appointed for *Little Poland*; and for *Lithuania*, thoſe whom we have already mentioned, *Bielinski* Mareſhal of the Diet was joined with them; and in the preſent Conjuncture, had a greater deſire to preſent the Diploma, than the other had to receive it, Prince *Lubomirski*, Staroſt of *Sondeck*, arrived at the ſame time from *Podolia* and reported that he had given order to fifteen Hundred Horſe to march, which the *Poſtoki* of the Crown would bring in three Days

Days. The Prince overjoyed at this News, teſtified his impatience to put himſelf at the Head of theſe Troops, that he might Fight the Enemy. But this beam of Hope laſted not long. For preſently News was brought that the three Thouſand *Saxons* were divided into two Bodies; of the which one would March directly to *Oliva*, the other to *Mariemburg*. The *French* Ambaſſador gave this intelligence to the Prince upon the 5*th* of *November* in the Morning; at what time he was come aſhore to Adviſe with the *Polanders* upon the Reception of the Diploma and the Embaſſie. But this new accident changed all their meaſures, becauſe the Troops expected were ſtill at too great a diſtance; and for that there was no certain Advice where they were. The Caſtelan of *Dantzick* alſo, who was preſent at this Council, gave notice that the *Saxons* had paſſed into his Staroſty of *Grodentz* upon the *Viſtula*; and that they had ruined all his Lordſhips. An Expreſs likewiſe from the Cardinal, that Day confirmed, that by a Letter from *Cracow* which he had intercepted, he underſtood, that the *Saxons* had orders to handle roughly, and carry away all the *Polanders* they ſhould find in *Oliva*; and a Council was thereupon held in a Houſe upon the Shore of the Sea, which perhaps was not more diſorderly that Day, than the various Advices propoſed in that Aſſembly.

*Grud-*

*Grudzinski*, Caſtellan of *Brzeſcia*, and *Lubomirski Staroſt* of *Sendek* were of Opinion, that the Prince, paſſing through the by and unfrequented Ways of *Pomerania* ſhould enter into Great *Poland* with all the Nobility that he had about him: But this advice was Univerſally blamed as being too raſh for a Prince to follow: And the deficulty was to find out a better that was oppoſite to it, and leſs ſubject to Inconveniencies. However at length they ſubmitted to that which appeared the moſt rational, which was to lay before the Prince, that ſince Succour would arrive in three days, His Majeſty inſtead of returning into *France* ſhould write to *Stettin*, a City, ſo much the more Commodious, becauſe it was more near the Frontiers: That in the mean time the Loyal Troops which the *Saxons* had left behind 'em ſhould joyn themſelves with thoſe at *Lowitz*, and the Crown Army, and march into the Palatinate of *Kaliſch*, where the Caſtellan allowed his Lands which lye upon the Frontiers on that ſide for a general Rendevouz: To which the Prince replyed, that ſince the Troops were ſo near at Hand he would ſtay their coming on Shipboard, and would not forſake his faithful Friends. They asked him then, whether he would be pleaſed to receive the Ambaſſy and the Diploma, but he excuſed himſelf, alledging that it was not proper to take poſſeſſion of a Kingdon, out which he was adviſed to depart.

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The ſame day, by the Prince's order, the *Chevalier du Baſt* ſeized upon five Merchant Men belonging to *Dantzick*, which lay in the Road laden and ready to ſet Sail. The Affronts which the *Burghers* had offered the *French* for a Month together, and the injury done to the Admiral's Notary, drew this misfortune upon 'em. The Abbot of *Polignac* alſo being informed of the Seizure of theſe Veſſels, gave order to his Servants to remove out of the City all his moſt precious moveables, which he had brought thither from *Warſaw* for the Prince's Service: And his Servants were preparing to put his Orders in Execution, when the Magiſtrates caus'd the Gates of the City to be ſhut, impriſoned his Officers and the Merchants that had done the King any Service; Seiz'd upon the greateſt part of the Embaſſador's moveables, and after they had ſold his Horſes by the Inch of Candle, had the inſolence to ſend him a Trumpet with a letter, wherein they demanded the Reſtitution of their Veſſels, and without mentioning what belonged to 'em, declared that they had ſecured the Merchants effects. To which the Ambaſſador made anſwer, that the Affair of the Veſſels did not at all concern him; that to plunder and pillage his goods was not the way to oblige him to ſpeak to the Prince in their Favour; that they ſhould call to mind that they had violated the Law of Nations, and failed in their Reſpect to a great King,

whom no Body had ever offended but that he Suffered for it.

At the ſame time, advice came that the *Saxons* had ſlipt through the Guards at *Stum*, a City of *Pruſſia*; that they had ſurprized a a hundred and ſixty of *Sapieha*'s *Reitres*, and made their Commander a Priſoner of War.

*Kraiczi*, Grand ſquire Carver of the Crown, was retired ſome days before to *Mariemburg*, not ſo much out of a deſign to preſerve the place, as to make uſe of it in order to make an Advantageous Capitulation for himſelf.

*Andrew Zalouski* Biſhop of *Plosko* departed the 29*th*, immediately after the Council had been held, wherein the Prince declared his Reſolution to return into *France*. That Prelate minded his own Intereſt more then any Body, and thirſted to get the Biſhoprick of *Varmia* upon any Terms, becauſe the Revenue of it was more conſiderable than his own. So ſoon therefore as he ſaw that the Prince to whom he had adhered would not be in a Condition to procure him that advantage, without loſing time, he would not abandon his Hopes, but threw himſelf into the Arms of the *Saxon* Party, which tis probable he had ſo managed that he might not fail whatever happened.

Upon the *6th*, Advice came from all parts of the March of the *Saxons*. Upon which the *French* Ambaſſador thought it high time to look after his Affairs; and after he had

had ſent his Papers, his Servant's and the reſt of his Equipage into the Abby of *Oliva*, as the only Sanctuary that remained upon the Seaſhore, and whither the moſt part of the Senators were retired, he went the *7th* to wait upon the Prince, and deſired of him ſome long Boats to carry aboard his Ships the Goods he had ſaved in the Abby of *Oliva*. At the ſame time the Caſtelan of *Kaliſch* and Count *Tovianski* were with the Prince, and adviſed him to retire to *Stettin*, notwithſtanding he had declared to 'em his deſign to return into *France*. As for the Ambaſſador he could not that day obtain the Shallops that he deſired, becauſe the *Chevalier du Bait* had ſent 'em for freſh Water; but he promiſed them the next day with a Guard of ſixty men commanded by the firſt Captain of the Squadron. Which precaution was ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe that the ſame day in the Morning, one the Prince's domeſtick Servants had been ſtript in the Woods by three *German* Troopers.

The next Morning by break of Day the Shallops carryed the Souldiers a ſhore; and the Abbot of *Neuf-Chattle* went along to fetch away what he had left at *Oliva*. But before twenty Souldiers were Landed, they perceived a great Body of Horſe drawn up in the Plain. Theſe were the *Saxons*, that arrived the preceding Night to the Number of four or five hundred, followed at the heels by the reſt of their Troops. The

Caſtelan of *Kaliſh*, for whom they ſought in particular, had the good look to eſcape them; but he fell into an Ambuſh, where he ſo beſtirred himſelf, that thirty Horſe detached after him, purſued him in vain in the Woods, not being able to overtake him. As for the Staroſt of *Sondek*, he took a Reſolution as bold as the Counſel which he had given three Days before; for he fought his way through his Enemies, with his Sword in his Hand; no leſs than five times fired at without being wounded. His Equipage was pillaged, and that was it which hindered the *Germans* from purſuing him.

The inſide of the Abby was forced as well as the out-ſide, at what time the Biſhop of *Kiovia*, and the Caſtelan of *Brzec* fled into the Church, where the latter was rifled and very ill uſed; the other was at his Prayers upon his Knees before the Altar: But the *Saxons* without any reſpect to the Sanctity of the Place, or the Character of the Prelate, fell upon him, tore his Cloaths, and never left him till they had torn from him a Croſs ſet with Diamonds, which the Biſhops of *Poland* wear as a Badge of their Dignity.

After this they forced the Door of the Veſtry where the Ambaſſador had put his Papers and his Plate: *Peter Hubert* his Secretary was left in the Abby to take take care of them, though he had much ado to get admittance into it: However he found a way

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at length to mollifie the Savage Breaſts of thoſe that ſhould have been more Civil, and by the means of three hundred Ducats which he diſtributed among the Monks, they gave him a Habit of the Order, and aſſiſted him neatly to take off the Seal which the *Saxons* had faſtened to a little Cheſt wherein the Papers were encloſed. Which done, he put ſomething elſe in the Trunk inſtead of the Papers which he carried away in the Night, with the hazard of his Life, and ſent them by a faithful Peaſant wrapt up in Bean Straw to *Dantzick*, to the Grand Chamberlain's Wife, who afterwards cauſed them to be delivered to the Ambaſſador.

Upon the 8*th* in the Forenoon the Seaſhore was full of *Saxon* Horſe, who gave the Chevalier St. *Paul*, firſt Captain of the Squadron to underſtand, that it was impoſſible for him to execute his Orders. Thereupon, being a good Soldier, he re-embarked his Men; ſtanding his Ground ſo long as one remained on Land, cauſing his Seamen to fire continually from the Shallops, ſo that ſome *Saxons* were killed, and on the Captain's ſide, the Chevalier *de Tomur*, an Enſign in the *Halcyon*, received a Muſquet ſhot in his Breaſt, of which he died that Evening.

And thus the Ambaſſador of *France* loſt all the Goods he had both at *Dantzick* and *Oliva*. The ſame Day, being the 8*th* in the Eve-

Evening, the young Count *Towianski*, the Cardinal's Nephew, went abroad, diſguiſed in the Habit of a *Bernardine* Monk; and upon the 9*th* about Noon, the Prince ſet Sail in order to return for *France*. As for the *French* Ambaſſador it was the Prince's pleaſure that he ſhould Land in the Iſle of *Rugen*, that he might go from thence to *Stettin*, from whence he might re-enter *Poland* if the Conjuncture of Affairs would permit, or elſe ſtay there for farther Orders.

In the mean time, the *Polanders* that were in *Dantzick* were as ill uſed as the *French*. The Palatine of *Kjovia*, the Mareſhal of *Lithuania*, Prince *Czartoriski*, the Staroſt of *Pereſlaw* and the Grand Chamberlain were impriſoned in their Houſes by the *Dantzickers*, who ſet Guards upon them; and thoſe Lords beheld ſeveral Gentlemen whom the Rabble dragged by the Hair.

This Diſorder inflamed the indignation of the Nobility againſt the *Saxons*; and though they were much caſt down upon the Prince's departure, they were ſo far from loſing their Courage, that they continued firm in their Reſolutions, excepting only a ſmall Number, to whom the Elector extended his Arms, and was very liberal of his Preſents, conformable to his Genius and the neceſſity of his Affairs.

Upon the 5*th* of *February* 1698, the Elector ſummoned a Diet, called the Diet of Pacification: for the holding of which he repaired

paired to *Warſaw*. Never was an Aſſembly worſe cull'd; for there met not above twenty, take Nuncios and Senators altogether; and of thoſe, twelve proteſted againſt him, and broke up the Diet the ſame Day that it began.

On the other ſide, the Cardinal ſummoned a Diet of the *Rokoſz* againſt the 18*th* of the ſame Month; where met a great Number of Senators, and the Nobility. Thither the Elector ſent his Plenipotentiaries to treat of an Accomodation. But his Propoſals were rejected, and the *Rokoſz* perſiſted in their Vigour.

And now the Elector, though delivered from the apprehenſions cauſed by the Preſence of his Competitor, and the Intrigues of the *French* Ambaſſador, panted after nothing ſo much as Peace, and ſeriouſly made it his buſineſs to reconcile himſelf with the Lords that had been oppoſite to him. But this was an Affair not ſo eaſie to be compoſed, as it ſeemed to be: There were many who had ſtill the Generoſity to uphold a Party that reſted upon ſuch ſolid Foundations. The *Rokoſz* therefore perſiſted in its Vigour till the 15*th* of *May*; when deſtitute of all hopes of the Prince of *Conti*'s Return, and ſollicited by *Fabricio Paulucci*, Biſhop of *Ferrara*, and the Pope's Extraordinary Nuncio, more cunning and more byaſſed than the former, the Elector gained by his Favours thoſe that would not confide in his Promiſes.

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Thereupon, a General Agreement was concluded upon the 21*ſt* of *May*, 1698, upon ſuch Conditions as they were pleaſed to like who make a forced ſubmiſſion; and this Accommodation was ſo agreeable to the Prince, that he never diſputed any of the Articles. And this Reſolution he took, upon what his Friends had laid before him; that Mildneſs was always neceſſary for Princes that were not well fixed in their Thrones.

*FINIS.*